

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

VOLUME 22

AUGUST, 1957

NUMBER 4

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Four weeks' advance notice to the Executive Office, and old address as well as new, are necessary for change of subscriber's address.

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and Subscriptions address
Executive Office

New York University
Washington Square
New York 3, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Albany, New York, under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in the Act of February 23, 1925, embodied in paragraph 4, section 538, P. L. and R., authorized June 4, 1938.

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(Articles in the AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW are indexed in the International Index to Periodicals and in the Weekly Bulletin of Public Affairs Information Service.)

American SOCIOLOGICAL Review

August
1957

Volume 22
Number 4

Official Journal of the American Sociological Society

RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS IN COMPLEX SOCIETIES: DIFFICULTIES IN THE THEORETIC SPECIFICATION OF FUNCTIONS *

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IMPLICIT in the methodology of structural-functional analysis, the prevailing theoretic convention among sociologists and anthropologists for describing institutions in their social context, is the demand for specification in the theory not only of the functional requisites of societies but also of functions which given parts of the whole are expected to perform in, or for, the system. The system "ends" are generally posited as (1) survival, and, as instrumental to this, if not an end in its own right, (2) the maintenance of homeostasis, or of dynamic equilibrium, within the system. The theories of Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Benedict, and Parsons may be regarded as examples of functionalist theories of this type. These theories usually envisage societies as social systems operating within a framework of necessity. They attempt to state explicitly what the requirements or "needs" of the social system are, usually as these are inferred from the *conditions* of human social existence, and then to trace out the implications of these and hence arrive at some idea of the functions that must (and will) be performed. Thus if religion does not perform the necessary functions, some other institution or institutions will.

* Paper read at the fall meeting of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Harvard University, December, 1956. An earlier version was presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1956.

In addition to theories of this type, however, there are other kinds of theoretic formulations in which the theorists have also been concerned with the functions of religion but have been content simply to enumerate various *consequences* (which may be quite random or independent of each other) that religious institutions are found, or expected, to have in various societies.¹ The latter kinds of theories have often taken the form of empirical generalizations in which a somewhat wider range of functions of religion is considered than is ordinarily done in closed system analysis.

In both cases, however, there appear to be a number of difficulties that impede the effort to designate theoretically the functions that religion, or religious institutions, perform in complex societies such as our own. This paper holds that (1) specification of expected functions of religious institutions—either on purely logical grounds or on the basis of generalization from empirical evidence—is less precise and likely to be less readily accomplished than for almost any other major area of social organization (economic, political, family, communicational, institutions), and that (2) any attempt to apply most of the available functional theories of religion to complex

¹ See, for example, J. O. Hertzler, "Religious Institutions," in R. H. Abrams, (ed.), *Organized Religion in the United States*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 256 (March, 1948), pp. 1-13.

societies rather than to primitive ones is more likely to lead to frustration than to fruitful understanding or insight.

According to the prevailing views, the functions of religion and of religious institutions can be discussed in from two to five or six major categories, with heavy emphasis usually falling upon the integrative and supportive functions they are purported to perform. Thus religious institutions are seen, in relation to other institutions of society—and in the total system—as promoting solidarity through the provision of significant symbols, norms, supernatural sanctions, and so on. In relation to personalities, and hence indirectly to society, they have been seen as ego-supportive, cathartic, therapeutic, operative in the maintenance or restoration of self-confidence, in the reassertion of "life values", and in the re-enforcement of collective sentiments in the face of various kinds of life crises such as famine or bereavement.²

Although divisive, disruptive, and ego-destructive consequences of religion or of religious institutions have been recognized—and discussed, for example, by Parsons in terms of "alienative motivation" in religious behavior³ or by Yinger in terms of "religion in the struggle for power"⁴—it would seem to be correct to say that in the classic theories of Durkheim,⁵ Malinowski,⁶ Radcliffe-Brown,⁷ Radin,⁸ and in the more recent formulations of Nottingham,⁹ Davis,¹⁰ or

Goode,¹¹ the emphasis tends to be on the conservative, the integrative, the supportive functions of religion rather than upon their opposites.

Much of this general pattern of interpretation rests upon the shrewd insights of Durkheim who saw in the group's *experience* of their collective power as *sacred* (and in the subsequent attempts to provide adequate symbols of this) the necessary basis for cohesion in society.

The emphasis in Malinowski's theory concerning the functions of religion, and especially of religious myths, is also upon what might be regarded as the positive contributions that these make toward maintaining the morale of the individuals and of the group and toward reaffirming and re-enforcing the solidarity and the continuity of the group.

Similarly, in the basic four-dimensional model of the social system currently employed by Parsons, Bales, and others, in general action theory, it is in the latency, or "pattern maintenance," cell that the functions of religion appear to be primarily located, although there are intimations of its relevance in the three other dimensions also.¹²

Despite the impressive array of opinion ranged on the side of the integrative, supportive functions of religion as its primary ones, it is difficult to accept this pattern of interpretation as valid or appropriate for the contemporary scene. Indeed the interpretation is hard to accept for any complex society where there is a high degree of specialization and functional autonomy among institutions or where religion itself is organized on a pluralistic or quasi-pluralistic pattern as contrasted with a society in which some sort of simple monism in religious faith and practice prevails or in which, though there may be *rivals* for religious authority and for "followings," there is no rivalry among diverse or mutually contradictory *patterns* of *defining authority*. For each of the integrative or supportive functions of religion cited in the theories that have been so popular, it is possible—

² Reference in these latter instances, as social scientists will recognize, is to the work of Radin and of Malinowski.

³ See Talcott Parsons, *Religious Perspectives of College Teaching in Sociology and Social Psychology*, New Haven: The E. W. Hazen Foundation, 1951, esp. pp. 16-21.

⁴ J. M. Yinger, *Religion in the Struggle for Power*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1946.

⁵ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, London: Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1915.

⁶ B. Malinowski, *Magic, Science and Religion*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1948.

⁷ A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "Religion and Society" in *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, Glencoe: Free Press, 1952, pp. 153-177.

⁸ Paul Radin, *Primitive Religion: Its Nature and Origin*, New York: Viking, 1937.

⁹ Elizabeth K. Nottingham, *Religion and Society*, Garden City: Doubleday, 1954.

¹⁰ Kingsley Davis, "Religious Institutions," in *Human Society*, New York: Macmillan, 1949, pp. 509-545.

¹¹ W. J. Goode, *Religion Among the Primitives*, Glencoe: Free Press, 1951.

¹² Class lectures by Talcott Parsons at Harvard University, Spring, 1953.

and even, as Merton¹³ points out, easy—to find diametric opposites in our own society.

If religion has supplied some of the basic common value orientations of our society and buttressed these with sanctions at its disposal, it has also been the source of rival value orientations that have been put forward to challenge these and has also served as the excuse for rejecting or defying older prevailing norms. Religion may be said both to have sustained the *status quo*, including the underwriting of various power and prestige elites, and to have undermined it by denying sanction to such invidious distinctions or by attacking them even more directly.

On the personal level there is evidence both from clinical records and from survey research to demonstrate that feelings of unrelieved guilt, of inferiority (or of superiority), of prejudice, of hostility to critical, open-minded thought—all of which have social consequences of some sort—have been engendered, in part at least, by religion or by religious institutions.¹⁴ One is obliged to conclude that religion lends itself (or that it can be, and has been, *used*) to foster or maintain an extraordinary variety of social interests and social processes, many of which are incongruous and many of which fail to measure up to the arbitrary standards of personal maturity, good mental health, social justice, fair play, brotherhood, intellectual honesty or even, in some cases, simple human decency. The situation is one which comes close to suggesting that the theoretically statable functions of religion are at least highly elusive if not paradoxical.

Now it is possible that the "shortcomings" in the available theoretic formulations concerning the functions of religion in society are more apparent than real, that is

to say, a matter of loose usage of words, or of mistakes arising from a misreading of the theories. It does make a difference, for example, whether one is talking about the functions of *religion* or about the functions of *religious institutions*, including religious organizations. And it is at least conceivable that where *religion*, in general terms or under certain social circumstances, may be capable of providing the massive supportive or integrative "services" to the society as a whole, *specific religious organizations*, or rival religious organizations in a pluralistic society, would be quite incapable of doing so. What is possible in a relatively undifferentiated society in which a more or less homogeneous religious tradition or a single system of religious institutions and type of religious authority prevails may be entirely beyond the possibility of achievement in societies of a different order of complexity. The character of the claims each organization puts upon its members and how it trains them to look upon others (always assuming that the training "takes") are matters that are also relevant. It is perhaps the rare religious organization that does not train its members to look upon themselves as the elect of God, bearers of *the Truth*, and so on, and upon others as somehow inferior in their understanding and behavior if not in their social status or personal worth.

Another possible objection that might be raised to the assertions that have been made here concerning the inadequacies of currently available theory for use in analyzing the functions of religion in advanced societies is that we may have attempted to generalize these theories beyond the limits intended by their authors. It is true that many of the functionalist theories of religion have been erected with specific reference to primitive societies and have been so labeled explicitly. There are other theories, however, where this has not clearly been the case. Although Durkheim's major theoretic work in this area rests empirically upon data supplied by Spencer and Gillen and others on central Australian tribes, it is evident from the total context of Durkheim's work that he apparently had in mind the social functions of religion in societies generally.

Still another point in possible answer to

¹³ R. K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe: Free Press, 1949, esp. pp. 30-31 ff.

¹⁴ See, for example, B. Bettelheim and M. Janowitz, *Dynamics of Prejudice*, New York: Harper and Bros., 1950, esp. pp. 50-52, 155-156, *passim*; L. Festinger, "Laboratory Experiments: The Role of Group Belongingness," in J. G. Miller (editor), *Experiments in Social Process*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950, pp. 33-46; Ralph L. Roy, *Apostles of Discord*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1953. Not irrelevant here is William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, New York: Longmans, Green, 1902.

our complaint might be that in not all functionalist theories is a specific, unequivocal, unchanging function or set of functions expected of specific institutions, religious or otherwise, or assigned theoretically to them, and that we ought not to require this of every functionalist theory. What should be posited, rather, is a situation in which given sets of conditions (which *may* vary sharply from society to society) need somehow to be met. How exactly these will be met—or by what institutions—depends upon the total range and character of all the institutions operative in the society and upon a variety of other variables present in each case. In theories of this type, it may well be, of course, that religious institutions could and would vary widely enough in their functioning so as to provide, in one context or another, or at one time or another, evidence of contradictory, diametrically opposite functions, services, consequences or effects when viewed in some total logical framework. This, however, is not quite the point against which we have been inveighing. This point is the presence of diametrically opposed functions operative at the same time in the same society.

Nothing that has been complained of so far—nor that might be said in answer to it—seems to go far enough into the matter to expose all the difficulties, or perhaps even the major difficulties, which are encountered in the attempt to specify theoretically the functions of religion—or, more precisely, of religious institutions, since religion in human society scarcely exists apart from institutional forms. The assertion here is that there are further logical difficulties that functional theorists of religion may not yet have perceived or acknowledged.

If, on the basis of what has been argued above, we may now assume that religion, operative through religious institutions, is capable of functioning in ways that are diametrically opposite, then it can be argued further that one set of functions or consequences is as legitimate or theoretically apposite as the other. It then becomes theoretically impossible to assign any fixed or necessary functions to religion or to religious institutions. Even in closed systems, where the pressure is greatest for locating all the necessary ingredients but only these,

it has not been established beyond question that religion specifically is a non-replaceable or specifically necessary part of the system. There is only the assertion that it *can* be useful in these respects, that it may help meet theoretically posed "system problems," and that it is not the anachronistic, functionally useless relic that the radical positivists in the Comtean tradition took it to be.

There appears to be some equivocation among functional theorists, too, as to precisely what system problem or problems religion is thought to be best qualified to serve. Is it in the area of adaptation to the environment, including an environment which may include deity, or is it in the area of internal integration within the group or social system? The specific needs that religion and religious institutions serve, whether for persons or for social systems, moreover, are apparently less a matter of common agreement (or at least of the kind of consensus that science requires) than the personal or social system needs identified and assigned to other institutions, which we conventionally label as "economic," "political," and so on.

Further evidence for the elusive character of functions that might be assigned to religion may be found in the extent to which persons and groups can avoid or evade the institutions of religion. The necessity for food-getting activities, for example, is universal and inescapable, and so, apparently, are certain of the activities identified as "political." But, except where political or economic sanctions are employed in the service of religious organization, religious beliefs and religious practices apparently can be ignored—and apparently without demonstrable consequences to the survival or well-being of groups or of individuals.

Another point that appears frequently to have been overlooked in theoretic formulations of the functions of religious institutions in society is that in the operating of religious institutions the beliefs and the "commitments" of individuals are relevant in a way that is unique. One of the purported functions of religious institutions is to re-enforce moral norms by adding to the secular means of control sanctions of another order. Yet the efficacy of religious institutions in discharging this function rests

squarely upon the acceptance by the controllee of the claims of religion. Unless he "believes" he is not controlled; threats of hell or promises of heaven are powerless in the face of disbelief. This is quite different from the way in which commitment to economic or to political ideologies works. One need not be committed to any sort of specific beliefs in non-demonstrable entities to be coerced by the operations of the physical or social environment. True, social control, whether by or for elites or by the community at large, may be facilitated by the acceptance of certain ideologies and myths with reference to the economic or the political or other institutions of the society; one need scarcely even be aware of the existence of society as an abstract phenomenon to be demonstrably controlled by it. But what is distinctive and peculiar to the situation of religious institutions is the degree of sacredness, of infallibility, of ultimate correctness which the creeds and dogmas that provide ideological support for religious institutions can command. No other institutions in society seem to enjoy either so much or such strong support (where the creeds and dogmas *are* accepted) nor to be so vulnerable (where the creeds and dogmas are rejected) as religious institutions. They appear to stand in a unique position in this respect with implications for their functioning that do not appear to have been widely recognized in the functional theories of religion.

Still another, and perhaps more vexatious, difficulty presents itself to the presumptive theorist of the functions of religion. This is posed, at least for those functional theorists who want to construct a set of *necessary conditions* that "must" be met if the society or the social system is to survive (or to

remain in moving equilibrium or whatever), by the fact that one cannot erect a comprehensive or complete theoretic specification of a social system model without logically implicating in one way or another his own personal position concerning the existence or non-existence of deity. This shows up particularly clearly in any theoretic statement about the environment to which individuals and groups must adapt themselves or be adapted. It is not possible to speak intelligibly about this environment without revealing what it is that the theorist regards as "belonging in" or being part of that environment; and this leads one squarely to the logically necessary expression of one's own operating assumptions concerning the existence or non-existence of deity in the environment and the relevance or non-relevance of this to the human enterprise. It does not matter what position he takes—*theistic, atheistic, agnostic, or whatever*—the obligation is the same if he intends to theorize responsibly within what might be called a framework of necessity, that is, if he proposes to posit social system "requirements." To leave the question of one's own personal assumptions in abeyance, as social scientists are wont to do, does not seem to be possible for at least some types of functionalist theory, including the kind that appears now to prevail.

The conclusion that seems to follow from the questions raised and from the problems posed in the foregoing pages is that the difficulties standing in the way of theoretic specification of the functions of religious institutions are very much greater than appears to have been generally recognized and that much further thinking about the logical prerequisites for theorizing in this field needs to be done.

OCCUPATIONAL BIAS AND MOBILITY

PETER M. BLAU

University of Chicago

A PERSON's evaluation of differentiated positions in the social structure tends to be affected by his own position. Members of the upper class in a Southern community, for example, differ in their conception of its class structure from members of the lower class, and each social stratum is evaluated more favorably by its own members than by others.¹ Correspondingly, one expects ratings of occupations on a preference scale to be influenced by the rater's own occupational status.

Two possible sources of such bias in occupational ratings can be distinguished—ego involvement and group identification. Thus, when a lawyer is asked what the general standing of "lawyer" is, he is, in effect, confronted by the task of estimating the social worth of his own occupational identity. The fact that an occupational designation becomes a symbol of the individual's social identity may distort his judgment. But even when the individual's ego is not involved, his group identification may be, as in the case of a lawyer asked to rate "physician" or any other professional. The common orientation and social ties that unite the members of related occupations into an in-group and distinguish them from other occupational groups may also interfere with making impartial judgments. The present paper is concerned with the effect of this group identification on occupational ratings, that is, not with bias toward one's own specific occupation but with bias toward the various occupations in one's occupational group.

Occupationally mobile persons have or had close social contacts with people in very different occupations, and they are probably not so well integrated in their

present social stratum as those who have been born and raised in it. If attachment to a social stratum limits an individual's perspective and introduces a bias into his evaluation of occupations, social mobility should broaden his perspective and reduce this bias.

Two hypotheses are implied by these considerations: (1) the members of each occupational group will give disproportionately high ratings to the various occupations in that group; (2) occupationally mobile persons will be less biased in favor of their own occupational group than those whose occupational status does not differ from that of their father. After having tested these hypotheses, some reformulations in accordance with the empirical findings will be suggested.

THE DATA

This investigation is based on a re-analysis of the data from North and Hatt's survey on occupational prestige, which was conducted in 1947.² It will be remembered that a national cross-section of the U. S. population was asked in this survey to classify 91 occupations on the basis of whether their general standing is excellent, good, average, somewhat below average, or poor. By weighting these five response categories (and eliminating "Don't know" answers), a score for each occupation was

² National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," *Opinion News*, 9 (September, 1947), pp. 3-13. I am indebted to Clyde W. Hart, Director of the National Opinion Research Center, for permitting me to re-analyze these data and for making funds available for this purpose, and to the Social Science Research Committee of the University of Chicago for an additional grant to cover computation expenses. I am also grateful to Jacob J. Feldman, Sudhish G. Ghurye, Leo Goodman, Joan W. Moore, and Fred L. Strodbeck for their advice and help, none of whom, I hasten to add, are responsible for the selection of procedures employed in the analysis.

¹ Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941, pp. 63-73.

TABLE 1. SCORES OF OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS BY OCCUPATION OF RATERS

Occupation of Raters †	Occupational Group Rated *							
	Profes- sional (26)	Business (10)	White- Collar (5)	Skilled (9)	Semi- skilled (9)	Service (9)	Un- skilled (6)	Farm (4)
Professional (96)	78.5	71.3	61.7	62.9	49.4	44.6	41.7	53.1
Business (184)	80.1	74.6	64.7	67.3	52.7	48.0	44.7	57.2
White-collar (155)	80.1	74.1	63.6	65.9	51.8	46.6	43.4	57.3
Skilled (165)	79.7	76.0	65.4	70.9	56.0	51.1	48.6	61.8
Semi-skilled (178)	80.9	76.8	66.0	70.4	56.7	50.4	47.2	60.2
Service (68)	78.4	76.1	64.8	71.1	56.0	52.4	48.3	60.7
Unskilled (59)	81.3	77.9	68.8	72.0	60.0	54.4	49.7	64.1
Farm (172)	77.0	72.8	64.9	68.9	53.4	48.0	44.5	58.3
Total (1077)	79.5	74.8	64.8	68.5	54.2	49.0	45.7	58.8
Original Sample (2920)	80.6	74.9	68.2	68.0	52.8	49.7 ‡	45.8	58.5 §

* The numbers in parenthesis in the column headings refer to the number of different occupations in each group whose average score is shown.

† The numbers in parenthesis in the left stubb refer to the number of respondents in each occupational group.

‡ The weighted average of the scores for protective service (58.0) and personal service (46.7), which were reported separately in the original article.

§ The weighted average of the scores for farm owners and managers (61.3) and farm laborers (50.0), which were reported separately in the original article.

derived, which can vary between 20 and 100.³ The same scoring procedure can be used to obtain scores for classes of occupations and scores given by specified subgroups of the population. The respondent's occupation and that of his or her father were also ascertained.

Since this study is concerned with attachment to a certain group in the labor force, and since the occupational experience of women differs in many respects from that of men, the analysis is confined to males in the labor force, which reduces the sample from the original 2920 respondents to 1077. These men were classified on the basis of U. S. Census criteria into eight occupational groups: professional, business (proprietors, managers and officials), white-collar (clerical and sales), skilled (craftsmen and foremen), semi-skilled (operatives), service

(personal and protective), unskilled (laborers), and farm (including farm laborers).

The same eight categories were used to classify 78 occupations. Excluded from consideration were the eight government officials (such as state governor or county judge), because they are political positions rather than occupations, and the five occupations for which more than 12.5 per cent of the respondents gave "Don't know" answers (nuclear physicist, psychologist, sociologist, biologist, and economist).

Table 1 presents the scores given by the members of the eight occupational groups to the eight categories of occupations. The last two rows show that most of the total scores, which are based on the ratings of all 1077 males in the labor force, are quite similar to the corresponding scores reported by North and Hatt, which are based on the ratings of the entire sample of 2920 males and females. The major exception to this—white collar—is due to a change in classification. Accountants, which had been assigned to the white-collar group in the earlier study, were classified as professionals for this investigation, in accordance with the recently revised procedure of the Bureau of the

³ A score for a given occupation was derived by the following procedure: the "Don't know" answers were eliminated; responses in the five categories were percentaged; weights between five and one were assigned to the five categories (five for "excellent," four for "good," etc.); the percentages were multiplied by these weights; the resulting five values were summed; and the total was divided by five to obtain the score.

TABLE 2. BIAS IN THE RATING OF OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS BY OCCUPATION OF RATERS

Occupation of Raters	Occupational Group Rated							
	Profes- sional	Business	White- Collar	Skilled	Farm	Semi- skilled	Service	Unskilled
Professional	+2.2	-0.3	+0.1	-2.4	-2.5	-1.6	-1.2	-0.8
Business	+1.0	+0.2	+0.3	-0.8	-1.2	-1.1	-0.6	-0.6
White-collar	+1.6	+0.3	-0.2	-1.6	-0.5	-1.4	-1.4	-1.3
Skilled	-1.2	-0.2	-0.8	+1.0	+1.6	+0.4	+0.7	+1.5
Farm	-1.0	-0.5	+1.6	+1.9	+1.0	+0.7	+0.5	+0.3
Semi-skilled	-0.2	+0.4	-0.4	+0.3	-0.2	+0.9	-0.2	-0.1
Service	-2.1	+0.3	-1.0	+1.6	+0.9	+0.8	+2.4	+1.6
Unskilled	-1.6	-0.3	+0.6	+0.1	+1.9	+2.4	+2.0	+0.6

Census.⁴ The elimination of this highly rated occupation reduces the score of the white-collar category, making it now lower than that of the skilled category.

In order to study the effects of patterns of mobility on ratings, it is necessary to rank the eight occupational groups. The total scores would furnish the following ranking: professional, business, skilled, white-collar, farm, semi-skilled, service, unskilled. By placing skilled workers between white-collar workers and other non-manual occupations, however, this rank order ignores the distinction between manual and non-manual work, a distinction which the findings indicate to be of considerable significance. To preserve this distinction and maintain the three non-manual and the five manual strata adjacent to one another, the relative positions of skilled workers and white-collar workers have been reversed; otherwise, the above rank order is used.⁵

OCCUPATIONAL BIAS

Bias in favor of one's own occupational group would find expression in disproportionately high values in the main diagonal of Table 1. But the difference between the scores in the diagonal and the total scores

(second last row) does not furnish a valid index of bias. Take professionals as an illustration. Their score for the professions is 78.5, which is lower than the score given to the professions by the entire sample of men (79.5). This indication of a negative bias, however, is misleading, because it fails to take into consideration that professionals are generally stricter in their ratings, as the right-hand column (All Occupations) shows. Their average score for all occupations is only 63.3, which means that they rate the professions 15.2 (78.5-63.3) points above average. The average score of the total sample, on the other hand, is 66.5, so that the total sample rates the professions 13.0 (79.5-66.5) above average. It is the difference between these two deviations from the mean that provides an accurate index of bias. Table 2 presents this index of bias not only toward one's own occupational group but also toward all others.⁶ Each value indicates how much higher or lower than chance expectation a given group of respondents rates a certain occupational category. Thus, professionals overrate their own occupations 2.2 points, but underrate skilled occupations 2.4 points.

The diagonal of the table reveals that there is little in-group bias in occupational ratings. To be sure, seven of the eight values in the diagonal are positive, but they are quite low. The weighted average of these bias scores is only +1.1. (It is, of course,

⁴ U. S. Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of Population, Alphabetical Index of Occupations and Industries*, Rev. Ed., Washington, D. C., 1950.

⁵ Every analysis which did not explicitly involve the distinction between manual and non-manual occupations was also carried out with the original rank order (leaving skilled workers in third place). The findings obtained by using this procedure are virtually identical with those presented.

⁶ The index of bias is derived from the values in Table 1 by adding the grand-total score (66.5) to the score in a given cell and subtracting both the row-total score and the column-total score.

zero for all 64 cells.) Two of the eight values in the diagonal are larger than $+1.0$, and so are 10 of the 56 values in the other cells. In short, the bias toward one's own occupational group is surprisingly small.⁷

A possible reason for this apparent lack of pronounced occupational bias could be the heterogeneity of the occupational categories. A physician may well be biased in his ratings of "physician," "lawyer," and other old-established professions, but not at all, or even negatively, in his ratings of such semi-professional occupations as "singer in a night-club." If this interpretation that heterogeneity accounts for the low bias scores is correct, the most heterogeneous occupational groups should have the lowest bias scores; this, however, is not the case. The range in the scores of the specific occupations classified into one category supplies a rough measure of its heterogeneity. The most heterogeneous category is that of professionals, with scores ranging from 53 for singer to 92 for physician, but this group has the second *highest* bias. The least heterogeneous category is that of white-collar workers, with scores ranging from 58 for store clerk to 66 for bookkeeper, and this is the least biased group—the only one with a negative occupational bias. Indeed, the rank correlation between heterogeneity and occupational bias is not negative, as assumed by the above interpretation, but $+0.72$. Mere heterogeneity, evidently, does not lead to less in-group bias in occupational ratings and thus cannot explain the low bias scores.

Although there is little occupational bias, it reveals consistent patterns. In Table 2 space separates manual and non-manual occupational categories, resulting in four quadrants. If manual workers are biased in favor of manual occupations, and non-manual workers, in favor of non-manual occupations, the values in the upper left and the lower right quadrants should be positive, and those

in the upper right and the lower left quadrant should be negative. Actually, 29 of the 34 values in the first two quadrants are positive, whereas only four of the 30 values in the other two quadrants are positive.⁸ In other words, non-manual workers have a small but consistent bias toward non-manual occupations (the weighted average score for the nine cells is $+1.0$) and a negative bias toward manual occupations (-1.2), and manual workers also have a positive bias toward their own occupations ($+0.8$) and a negative one toward non-manual occupations (-0.6). These differences persist if age is controlled, that is, if workers under and over 40 are examined separately.

There is also a slight tendency to under-rate occupations below one's own. The values to the right of the diagonal are somewhat lower than those in the diagonal or to its left.

OCCUPATIONAL INHERITANCE AND EXCESS BIAS

The second hypothesis predicts that occupationally mobile persons, that is, men whose occupational status differs from that of their father, are less apt to be biased in favor of their own occupational group than those who have not experienced intergenerational mobility. If this should prove to be correct, it could explain why such a bias is generally low. Perhaps only occupational inheritance produces a sufficiently strong attachment to the occupational in-group to create a bias in evaluating it.

As a first step in examining the consequences of mobility for occupational ratings, the sample of 1077 men is classified along two dimensions—own occupation and father's occupation. Each of the eight occupational groups is divided on the basis of father's occupation into eight subgroups. The score given by each subgroup to *its own* occupational stratum is presented in Table 3. The values in the total row, which are identical

⁷ Since the product of the respondents (1077) and the occupations (78) results in a very large number of observations, very small differences are likely to be statistically significant. But inasmuch as successive ratings of various occupations by the same respondent may well not be independent, it is not clear how statistical significance can be determined without very complex and costly computation procedures. Inspection of the data makes it evident that the absolute magnitude of the differences is low.

⁸ Although these data are not independent, it may be of interest to note that a finding of 9 negative cases out of 64 independent ones would be significant far below the .001 level. For the sign test used, see Frederick Mosteller and Robert R. Bush, "Selective Quantitative Techniques," in Gardner Lindzey (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1954, pp. 312-313.

TABLE 3. SCORES OF OWN OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AS RATED BY MEN CLASSIFIED BY OWN AND FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Occupational Status of Respondent's Father	Respondent's Occupational Status (and Occupational Group Rated)							
	Professional	Business	White-Collar	Skilled	Farm	Semi-skilled	Service	Unskilled
Professional	77.4	72.0	60.3	63.3 *	40.0 *	51.9 *	53.3 *	36.7 *
Business	79.5	75.9	65.2	69.9	49.0 *	57.0	53.9 *	47.2
White-collar	81.7	74.3	61.2	71.4	35.0 *	57.0	67.4 *	—†
Skilled	77.7	73.6	63.6	72.2	55.8 *	57.8	47.4	51.1 *
Farm	76.7	73.7	65.4	71.0	59.4	55.3	46.3	48.9
Semi-skilled	82.8	75.9	65.5	68.4	60.4 *	57.7	61.8	58.2
Service	71.6	77.6	57.3 *	68.9	80.0 *	54.4 *	52.9	26.7 *
Unskilled	86.9 *	72.0 *	60.0 *	74.9	62.5 *	59.0	56.7	48.1
Total	78.5	74.6	63.6	70.9	58.3	56.7	52.4	49.7

* Scores based on fewer than 40 observations (that is, the product of the number of raters and the number of occupations rated is less than 40).

† There was no unskilled worker in the sample whose father was a white-collar worker.

with those in the diagonal in Table 1, show how the various occupational groups rate their own occupations. The data in every column indicate how members of the same occupational group with different mobility experiences rate the occupations in their own stratum.⁹

The next step is to transform these raw scores into deviations from the mean. Professionals who are sons of white-collar workers, for example, gave an average score of 81.7 to the various professions (column 1, row 3). Their mean score for all 78 occupations is 65.1 (not shown). Hence, their in-group rating deviates from their mean rating by +16.6. For all professionals, the in-group rating (78.5; see column 1, last row) deviates from the mean rating (63.3) by +15.2.

⁹ Table 3 divides respondents into 64 subgroups, but it presents only their scores for their own occupational group, in contrast to Table 1, where occupational scores for the seven out-groups as well as for the in-group are shown. The values in Table 3 are independent, since each is based on the ratings made by a different sub-group of respondents. While this makes the differences in this table more reliable than those in Table 1, another factor makes them less reliable, namely, that some of the values in Table 3 are based on relatively few observations. Asterisks indicate all scores that are based on fewer than 40 observations, that is, where the product of the number of respondents and the number of occupations rated is less than 40. There are less than five respondents in one quarter of the cells, and the sample did not include a single unskilled worker with white-collar origins, so that the table contains only 63 scores instead of 64.

The difference between a subgroup's deviation from the mean and that of the occupational group of which it is a part defines an index of excess bias. For example, professionals of white-collar origins have an excess bias of +1.4 (16.6—15.2). It should be noted that the value of +1.4 does not represent the full extent of the occupational bias of this subgroup. Since the entire sample rated the professions 13.0 points above the mean, as mentioned earlier, professionals who are sons of white-collar workers have a bias of +3.6 (16.6—13.0) in rating professional occupations. This bias results in part from their occupational status and in part from their mobility experiences. Being a professional generally produces a bias of +2.2 (15.2—13.0) in rating the professions. The experience of having moved from white-collar origins into the professions increases that bias by +1.4 points. In short, this index of excess bias isolates the impact of a given mobility pattern on in-group ratings.

The index of excess bias is presented in Table 4. Since many of the larger values in this table are based on too few observations to be reliable, the analysis will ignore the actual values and be confined to an examination of the direction of excess bias—whether it is positive or negative—which indicates whether a certain mobility experience enhances or reduces the value men place upon their own occupational group.

It is evident that occupational inheritance, contrary to expectation, does not increase

in-group bias in occupational ratings. Among the eight immobile subgroups, shown in the main diagonal of Table 4, a negative excess bias is as frequent as a positive one; both occur four times. If the three non-manual and the five manual immobile subgroups are treated as two distinct rank orders, the following pattern can be observed in both: the top and the bottom subgroups have a negative excess bias (professional and white-collar; skilled and unskilled), and the intermediate subgroups have a positive one (business; farm, semi-skilled, and service). Although this pattern may be due merely to chance, it suggests the conditions under which occupational inheritance is least likely to increase in-group identification, namely, in the case of those occupations at the bottom of the hierarchy, those at the top, and those near the boundary between the manual and the non-manual class.

EFFECTS OF VARIOUS PATTERNS OF MOBILITY

Having rejected the hypothesis that immobile men are more biased in favor of their own occupational group than mobile men, let us explore some alternative hypotheses. First, does upward mobility produce more favorable attitudes toward one's present occupational stratum than downward mobility? Of the 28 upwardly mobile subgroups (left of the diagonal in Table 4), 13 have a positive excess bias, and of the 27 downwardly mobile subgroups (right of the diagonal), 8 do. Upward mobility in general apparently has no significant effect on occupational bias.

The significance of the distinction between manual and non-manual occupations sug-

gests another hypothesis. Perhaps mobility within the boundaries of these two broad classes has little impact on evaluations of occupations, but upward mobility from manual to non-manual work does increase the value a person places upon his occupational group, and downward mobility from non-manual to manual work decreases it. Table 4 is divided into four quadrants. The hypothesis implies that predominantly positive values should be found in the lower left quadrant (non-manuals with manual origins), mostly negative ones should be found in the upper right quadrant (manuals with non-manual origins), and the proportion of positive values in the other two quadrants (non-manuals of non-manual origin and manuals of manual origin) should be intermediate. Actually, only four of the 15 values in the lower left quadrant are positive; the proportion of positive values in the upper right quadrant is as large (four of 14), and that in the other two quadrants is considerably larger (17 of 34). Upward mobility from manual origins to non-manual occupations clearly does not increase in-group bias in occupational ratings.

Taking a clue from this finding, a more complex hypothesis can be advanced. Men may become alienated from their occupational stratum if it compares unfavorably with that of their father, as is the case for the downwardly mobile, but also if they experience difficulties in finding acceptance among its members, as is often the case for the upwardly mobile who have crossed important class boundaries, such as that between people who work with their hands and those who do not. In contrast, upward

TABLE 4. EXCESS BIAS TOWARD OWN OCCUPATIONAL GROUP OF MEN CLASSIFIED BY OWN AND FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL STATUS

Occupational Status of Respondent's Father	Respondent's Occupational Status (and Occupational Group Rated)							
	Professional	Business	White-Collar	Skilled	Farm	Semi-skilled	Service	Unskilled
Professional	-0.3	-3.2	-0.3	-5.5	-19.2	-0.6	-2.6	-4.6
Business	+0.6	+0.1	+0.8	-1.4	-9.5	-0.6	+3.0	-0.3
White-collar	+1.4	+0.3	-1.7	+0.5	-24.3	+1.5	+11.1	—*
Skilled	-0.5	-0.4	-0.4	-0.6	-3.4	-0.2	-4.6	+0.5
Farm	-1.1	-0.5	+3.0	+0.7	+1.3	-0.4	-2.4	-0.1
Semi-skilled	-0.2	+1.2	-1.3	-0.2	+5.5	+1.2	+3.3	+3.2
Service	+2.6	+4.4	-4.2	-0.2	+14.6	-6.8	+4.0	-11.6
Unskilled	-1.6	-0.4	-3.1	+4.1	-1.5	+0.3	+2.3	-1.2

* There was no unskilled worker in the sample whose father was a white-collar worker.

mobility that stays within broad class boundaries encourages identification with the new occupational stratum, since it does not involve so serious problems of social adjustment and is a gratifying rather than a depriving experience. The specific hypothesis implied by these considerations is that negative excess bias values will be prevalent among the downwardly mobile (the 27 cells to the right of the diagonal in Table 4) and also among those who moved up from manual origins to non-manual occupations (the 15 cells in the lower left quadrant), and that positive values will be prevalent among those who moved up without crossing the boundary between the manual and the non-manual class (the 13 cells that are to the left of the diagonal and either in the upper left or in the lower right quadrant). In fact, only 8 of the 27 downwardly mobile subgroups and only 4 of the 15 upwardly mobile ones who crossed the class boundary are positive, whereas 9 of the 13 subgroups who moved up without crossing the boundary are positive. Only 16 (8+4+4) of 55 values are not in the predicted direction; this supports the hypothesis.¹⁰

INTERPRETATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

There is widespread consensus in occupational ratings among various occupational strata. To be sure, some differences exist. Men of higher status have generally stricter standards and give lower occupational ratings than those of lower status. But since these standards are applied rather uniformly to all occupations and people exhibit little bias in their ratings of their own occupational group, the rank order of occupational ratings is hardly affected by the rater's status. A study by Rossi and Inkeles found that Russian refugees, too, reveal little in-group bias in occupational ratings,¹¹ and there is also a high degree of agreement in occupational ratings between persons from

different regions in the United States, between different age groups, and between men and women.¹² A methodological implication of this general agreement in occupational evaluations is that even ratings based on a fairly small and not entirely representative sample are likely to be reliable.

The initial expectation was that occupational solidarity induces people to give disproportionately high ratings to the occupations in their own stratum. The evidence revealed only a slight in-group bias in ratings. A possible interpretation of this essentially negative finding is that the eight Census-type occupational strata here considered do not constitute groups characterized by feelings of social solidarity. Another finding supports this interpretation, namely, that the slight occupational bias that does exist does not differentiate in-group ratings from all out-group ratings. Non-manual workers are, on the average, just as biased in evaluating non-manual occupations outside their own stratum as in evaluating those in their stratum, and manual workers are nearly as biased in their ratings of out-group manual occupations as in their ratings of in-group ones. Apparently, there is a significant boundary that affects evaluations between the manual and the non-manual class, but no such boundaries surround the eight occupational strata and differentiate each one from the others in the same broad social class.

To understand the consequences that intergenerational mobility has for the value a person attaches to his occupational group, as indicated by excess bias in his ratings, it is necessary to distinguish two dimensions of mobility and analyze their combined impact. First, occupational mobility has a direction. Since successful achievement tends to be defined not so much in absolute terms as in reference to a person's point of origin, becoming, say, a skilled worker has quite a different meaning for the individual raised in a physician's family than for the son of a day laborer. As a

¹⁰ Ignoring the restrictions imposed upon the data, 16 negative cases out of 55 would be significant on the .01 level. If all values based on fewer than 40 observations are eliminated (those in the cells indicated by asterisks in Table 3), there are 11 negative cases out of 35, which would be significant on the .05 level. For the sign test used, see Mosteller and Bush, *loc. cit.*

¹¹ Peter H. Rossi and Alex Inkeles, "Multi-Dimensional Ratings of Occupations," *Sociometry* (forthcoming). These authors also show that the

popular evaluations of occupations in different countries are very similar; see Alex Inkeles and Peter H. Rossi, "National Comparisons of Occupational Prestige," *American Journal of Sociology*, 61 (January, 1956), pp. 329-339.

¹² See National Opinion Research Center, *loc. cit.*

result of these different reference-group standards, a given occupational group should be evaluated more highly by those of its members who have moved up into it than by those who have moved down; but this is not generally the case.

Upward mobility is not in all respects the opposite of downward mobility, however, since social mobility has a second dimension. Durkheim has already called attention to the fact that economic success as well as failure is often a socially disruptive force.¹³ The upwardly mobile, just as the downwardly mobile, are in some ways marginal men who have been torn from their social roots and who encounter special problems in establishing integrative social relationships.¹⁴ Warner and Abegglen found that men who had moved up from lower strata to become big business leaders "have difficulty in accepting and imposing the kinds of reciprocal obligations that close friendship and intimate social contacts imply. They typically are isolated men."¹⁵ Inasmuch as mobility, regardless of its direction, is a disruptive and isolating force, one would expect the mobile to judge their occupational group in less favorable terms than do the immobile. This, indeed, was the original hypothesis; but it was contradicted by the evidence.¹⁶

Neither the success-failure dimension nor

the mobility-immobility dimension alone can account for the findings, but the combined effects of the two can explain them. Both the relative-status and the uprooting component of mobility have negative implications for in-group evaluations in the case of downward mobility, whereas they have opposite implications in the case of upward mobility. The downwardly mobile are predisposed by the standards of the reference group in which they have been socialized to place a low value on their occupational group, and difficulties in establishing integrative relations with its other members due to differences in background probably reinforce this tendency. The upwardly mobile, on the other hand, are predisposed by their standards of reference to place a high value on their occupational group. If they are readily accepted by its other members, the disruptive effect of mobility is minimized, and their initial inclination is apt to become manifest in disproportionately high evaluations of their occupational group. But if they fail to gain social acceptance among its members, they are likely to react against their originally favorable disposition and adapt to their relatively isolated position by depreciating the value of their occupational group.

In short, it is suggested that social acceptance is the contingency factor that governs whether the gratifying or the uprooting force of upward mobility finds expression in the valuations of the occupational in-group. The chances of social acceptance, in turn, are much less if a person's upward movement carries him across a major class boundary than if it does not. One such boundary is that between manual and non-manual work. Of course, this is not the only dividing line between social classes in the United States, but it is the only one reflected in the data examined here, since the others, such as that between small businessmen and top executives of large corporations, are obscured in a rough occupational classification. Hence, men who have moved up from manual origins into non-manual strata tend to place a relatively low value on their occupational group, just as downwardly mobile men generally do, but men who have moved up without crossing this class boundary tend to place a relatively high value on their occupational group.

¹³ Emile Durkheim, *Suicide*, Glencoe: Free Press, 1951, pp. 242-254.

¹⁴ See Peter M. Blau, "Social Mobility and Interpersonal Relations," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (June, 1956), pp. 290-295.

¹⁵ W. Lloyd Warner and James C. Abegglen, *Big Business Leaders in America*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1955, p. 90.

¹⁶ Another possible interpretation of the uprooting force of mobility is also contradicted by the data. Warner and Abegglen report that men of lower origins who have moved up into top business positions often compensate for their social isolation by becoming strongly identified with their career (*op. cit.*, pp. 97-100). One might assume that these most successful men attach disproportionately high values to the occupations on their own level, whereas upwardly mobile men who have not reached the top, precisely because they are identified with their career and have their eyes fixed on top positions, attach comparatively low values to their present occupational stratum. In actual fact, however, the opposite is the case; extensive upward mobility is associated with proportionately lower evaluations of a person's occupational stratum than less extensive upward mobility.

THE STRANGER IN LABORATORY CULTURE *

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THIS laboratory study will show how taking the role of stranger affects certain responses made by the individual. Theoretically, it stems from an interest in "marginality" demonstrated by sociologists, anthropologists and historians. For example, Teggart¹ pointed out that contact between groups tends to "emancipate the individual in thought and action." Park² and Stonequist³ urged attention to the *marginal man* as a kind of concentration of the dynamics of culture. More recently, acculturation studies by scholars like Hallowell,⁴ Caudill,⁵ and Voget⁶ have focussed on the characteristics of marginal individuals. Barnett⁷ has incorporated Teggart's idea into his theory of innovation. He mentions the "conjunction of differences" as a factor that may stimulate innovation by an individual. Finally, and

more specifically, we are indebted to Simmel⁸ for pointing out the stranger as an important object of study.

Methodologically, this study derives from a small-group experiment by Rose and Felton⁹ in which a Rorschach card stimulus was presented repeatedly to a small group of subjects over a number of "epochs." Each epoch consisted of a two-minute observation period followed by an explanation period in which each subject pointed out to the others in his group the concepts he had seen. Responses were classified as *invention* (perception of a new concept by a subject), *borrowing* (perception of a concept reported in an earlier epoch by a subject with whom the individual was in contact), and *habit* (perception by an individual of a concept which he, himself, had perceived in an earlier epoch.¹⁰ By moving individuals in and out of groups, the authors created three kinds of "societies" (*new, closed and open*) for which the rates of the different kinds of responses could be compared. While Rose and Felton maintain that they have created the mechanisms and processes of culture change in their laboratory, they warn against applying their results to the world outside.

In our study we sought to compare the response rates of individuals playing different roles in the experimental framework suggested by Rose and Felton. Our experimental procedure is indicated in Figure 1. After a preliminary trial, groups of four subjects met for three epochs during which time some kind of consensus would, presumably, develop. Then one of the subjects, selected at random, was moved into a "foreign" group for three

* This experiment was a project of the 1956 senior research seminar in Sociology-Anthropology at Middlebury College. We are indebted to the students of the seminar for carrying through the experimental procedures, to Edward Rose of the University of Colorado and William Felton of the University of Maryland for having suggested the specific research design to us, to James Sakoda of the University of Connecticut for statistical assistance, to Melford E. Spiro of the University of Connecticut for help in explaining our findings, and to June Shmelzer of the University of Connecticut for assistance in preparing the manuscript.

¹ Frederick F. Teggart, *Processes of History*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918.

² Robert E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, 33 (May, 1928), pp. 881-893.

³ Everett V. Stonequist, *The Marginal Man*, New York: Scribners, 1937.

⁴ A. I. Hallowell, "Ojibwa Personality and Acculturation," in Sol Tax (editor), *Acculturation in the Americas*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952, pp. 105-112.

⁵ William Caudill, "Psychological Characteristics of Acculturated Wisconsin Ojibwa Children," *American Anthropologist*, 51 (July-September, 1949), pp. 409-427.

⁶ Fred Voget, "Individual Motivations in the Diffusion of the Wind River Shoshone Sundance to the Crow Indians," *American Anthropologist*, 50 (October-December, 1948), pp. 634-646.

⁷ Homer Barnett, *Innovation*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953.

⁸ Georg Simmel, from *Soziologie*, 1908. Translated in Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924, pp. 322-327.

⁹ Edward Rose and William Felton, "Experimental Histories of Culture," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (August, 1955), pp. 383-392.

¹⁰ Rose and Felton also classified *culbits* (habits which originated as borrowings rather than inventions). We have not found it necessary to differentiate such a response here.

FIGURE 1. The Design of an Experiment.

PROCEDURE

EPOCH	EXPERIMENTAL PERIOD	GROUP 1 (SUBJECTS)	GROUP 2 (SUBJECTS)
	TRIAL	A B C D	E F G H
1	PERIOD 1	A B C D	E F G H
2		A B C D	E F G H
3		A B C D	E F G H
4	PERIOD 2	A B C H	E F G D
5		A B C H	E F G D
6		A B C H	E F G D
7	PERIOD 3	A B C D	E F G H
8		A B C D	E F G H
9		A B C D	E F G H

Note: The stranger's role is that position occupied by subjects D and H in Experimental Period 2. The role of returnee is that position occupied by them in Experimental Period 3. Sedentes fill all other positions.

epochs. At the end of the sixth epoch he was moved "home" again for the last three epochs of the experiment. An individual remaining in the group of origin was called a *sedente*, one who moved into another group from the group of origin, a *stranger*, and one who returned to the group of origin, a *returnee*. Following Sherif's work¹¹ in which it was determined that a person carries his group's frame of reference away with him to a new situation, we assumed that the stranger's role, as created in our experiment, would be a position marginal to the old *reference group* and new *membership group*.¹² This would seem to approximate in the laboratory Simmel's description of the stranger: "He is fixed within a certain spatial circle, but his position within it is peculiarly determined by the fact that he does not belong to it from the first, that he brings qualities into it that are not, and cannot be, native to it."¹³ Our experiment was designed to show how inventions, borrowings and habits are affected when individuals take the roles of stranger and returnee.

¹¹ Muzafer Sherif, *The Psychology of Social Norms*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936, pp. 85-97.

¹² A *reference group* is a group in which the individual participates subjectively, i.e., to which he relates himself psychologically. A *membership group* is a group in which the individual is an objective member, i.e., to which the scientist relates him objectively. The term *reference group* originated with Herbert Hyman, "The Psychology of Status," *Archives of Psychology*, 38 (June, 1942), p. 269.

¹³ Simmel, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

A single experiment required two four-person groups to meet in separate rooms that were alike in all relevant physical factors. The eight subjects gathered originally in one of the experimental rooms where they were given general instructions about the experiment by the chief administrator. Here the letters A,B,C,D,E,F,G,H were placed on the subjects at random. This enabled them to be identified readily and insured a random selection of sedentes (A,B,C,E,F,G) and strangers (D,H). After a five-minute break, subjects A,B,C,D met in one experimental room, E,F,G,H in the other.

Now each group was given a further set of instructions by the single observer who worked with each group. These instructions reiterated much of what had been said before in the general instructions. The subjects were told that we were interested in finding out how, and under what conditions, ideas appear and change. They were told that a Rorschach inkblot card would be used, but that we were not interested in testing personalities. They were asked to write down what they saw in the card on their concept sheets during the observation periods. The group was directed to report any ideas that the inkblot suggested to them—new or old, general or specific. The mechanics of the experiment also were discussed and demonstrated in considerable detail by the observer.

The subjects sat in desk chairs overlooking a low lectern on which the Rorschach card was displayed. They wrote their ideas on concept sheets under which were three carbon copies. These carbon copies were distributed to the other members of the group for the explanation period. The experiment was divided into ten epochs, the first of which was a trial. Each epoch consisted of an observation period (two minutes to look at the inkblot card) and an explanation period during which each subject pointed out his concepts to the others in his group. The other subjects marked a [+] on his carbon copies if they agreed with his idea, a [-] if they disagreed. Verbal agreement or disagreement was discouraged. With observation and explanation periods, each epoch lasted approximately ten minutes. An atmosphere of informality was encouraged.

Rorschach cards VIII or IX were dis-

played for the Trial period. Rorschach card X was used in all nine succeeding epochs. All epochs were conducted alike with one exception: the person who began the explanation period was varied systematically over the different epochs. At the end of the third epoch (excluding the Trial) D and H were asked to change places. The next three epochs (Experimental Period 2) were conducted exactly as before, but with D and H (strangers) in the "foreign" groups. At the end of epoch 6 the strangers were returned to their "home" groups and became returnees. Experimental Period 3 (epochs 7, 8, 9) was conducted as before, but with D and H (returnees) in their groups of origin. Periods between epochs were no longer than was required to gather up old, and distribute new, concept sheets.

The experiment lasted about two hours. Five experiments were performed in all, requiring a total of forty subjects. All but two of these were majors in Sociology-Anthropology at Middlebury College. The results from all five experiments were pooled. The Thirty sedentes comprised the control group and the ten strangers the experimental group. Different comparisons were made between them to ascertain the effects of the experimental conditions on the different responses.

Classification of responses as invention, borrowing, or habit followed the definitions of Rose and Felton (see above). In categorizing a subject's responses in any epoch his entire "history" in the experiment was considered, whether in one or both experimental rooms. No considerable problems were encountered in this classification procedure. Almost all responses clearly fell into one of the three categories, which argues for the reliability of this classification scheme.

RESULTS

We have concerned ourselves with the quantity, not the quality of responses. The relevant data are arrayed in Tables 1 and 2. To find out what effect taking the role of stranger has on the individual's responses, we compared means for numbers of responses that were inventions, borrowings, or habits for strangers and sedentes in Experimental Period 2. Since the personality factor had been controlled by a random selection of strangers, this design had the effect of intro-

ducing the stranger's role as a cause. The effect that taking the role of returnee has on the response rates of the individual was ascertained by comparing the mean differences of subject-responses in Periods 2 and 3 for sedentes and returnees (strangers in Period 2). The latter design, which controlled all relevant factors, conforms to Mill's classic Method of Difference. The former is an "After" design—a variation of the Method of Difference—which is discussed by Goode and Hatt.¹⁴ Our overall procedure here, which involves treating subject-responses in Periods 2 and 3 as if occurring in a single trial, follows Edwards' discussion of an experimental design involving repeated measurements of the same subjects.¹⁵

Tests of the significance of the differences between means for the three-epoch trials were made by Student's t-test as formalized by Ackoff.¹⁶ In order to satisfy the assumption of randomness upon which this test is based, we sought to obtain independent measures for sedentes, strangers, and returnees. This criterion is automatically met by the measures for strangers-returnees since each of these subjects was selected independently of the others ($N=10$). We met the assumption for sedentes by taking as a unit measure the mean response rates of each group of 3 sedentes in each experimental room for the five experiments ($N=10$). Comparisons were made then between the mean of the 10 sedente group means and the 10 stranger (or returnee) measures for the appropriate Experimental Periods. The t-test also assumes normality and equal variances, but unless unusually distributed samples with extremely different variances occur, the violation of this assumption is comparatively unimportant. Our data clearly do not approach such extreme conditions.

The results of our test of the significance of differences also are arrayed in Tables 1

¹⁴ William Goode and Paul Hatt, *Methods in Social Research*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952, p. 84. This, rather than the classical design, was used because of the impossibility of comparing the different responses in Periods 1 and 2—all responses in epoch 1 being inventions by definition.

¹⁵ Allen Edwards, *Experimental Design in Psychological Research*, New York: Rinehart, 1950, Ch. 15.

¹⁶ Russel Ackoff, *The Design of Social Research*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953, pp. 200-201.

TABLE 1. EFFECTS OF TAKING THE ROLE OF STRANGER ON INDIVIDUAL RESPONSES

Response	Hypothesis	(H ₁)	Means of Subject-Responses in Experimental Period 2 *				Level of Significance †		Conclusion ‡
			Null Hy- pothesis (H ₀)	Strangers (x)	Sedentes (s)	Difference (x-s)	t	P	
No. of Inven- tions (I)	Taking the role of stranger causes a de- cline in I	$I_x < I_s$	$I_x \geq I_s$	2.90	5.17	-2.27	-2.95	.01	Accept H ₁
No. of Bor- rowings (B)	Taking the role of stranger causes an in- crease in B	$B_x > B_s$	$B_x \leq B_s$	4.60	3.81	0.79	0.78	.3	Accept H ₀
No. of Habits (H)	Taking the role of stranger causes an in- crease in H	$H_x > H_s$	$H_x \leq H_s$	19.00	15.98	3.02	0.56	.3	Accept H ₀

* The total number of responses for each subject in each category in Experimental Period 2 (epochs 4, 5, 6) were calculated. Then, means of these totals for the 10 strangers and for the means of the 10 groups of 3 sedentes were computed.

† There are 18 degrees of freedom ($N_x + N_s - 2$).

‡ The .02 level was accepted as indicative of a significant difference.

and 2, where the various differences between means were taken as hypotheses to be proved. Such proof involved the rejection of the Null hypothesis (and thus tentative acceptance of our logical alternate). As an example, take the first difference noted in Table 1. We argue that taking the role of stranger causes a decline in number of inventions, hence the hypothesis $I_x < I_s$, where I indicates number of inventions, x, stranger, and s, sedente. The Null hypothesis in this case is $I_x \geq I_s$, the rejection of which would force the tentative acceptance of our hypothesis. The t-test for the difference between the mean number of inventions for sedentes and strangers in Period 2 (-2.27) gives a value of -2.95 which, for 18 degrees of freedom, is within the .01 level of significance. The .02 level was accepted as indicative of a significant difference, and the Null hypothesis, which argues that the difference is due to chance, is rejected. Thus we tentatively accept the alternate hypothesis (H₁) that taking the role of stranger causes a decline in number of inventions.

Table 1 indicates the effects that taking the role of stranger has on the responses of the individual. The only significant difference is in the number of inventions made by strangers (as compared with sedentes). It is clear that taking the role of stranger tends

to cause a decline in the number of inventions made by the individual.

Table 2 reports the effects that taking the role of returnee has on the responses of the individual. It shows an increase in the number of returnee-inventions (as compared with sedentes). That this increase for returnees (and the previous decline for strangers) is both absolute and proportional to the total number of responses seems to be indicated by the fact that the means of the totals for stranger-returnees and sedentes do not differ significantly for Period 2 ($\bar{X}_x = 26.5$; $\bar{X}_s = 24.9$; $P < .8$) and Period 3 ($\bar{X}_x = 29.8$; $\bar{X}_s = 28.9$; $P < .8$).

DISCUSSION

What is it about the stranger's role that inhibits invention? It is important to note here that our findings in this regard are in accord with the conclusions of Rose and Felton who found that inventions are curbed in "open societies," i.e., groups characterized by changing membership.¹⁷ We suggest that the well-known mechanism of *perceptual defense* discussed by Erickson and Browne¹⁸ is operating in both situations. This hypothe-

¹⁷ Rose and Felton, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

¹⁸ Charles Eriksen and C. Browne, "An Experimental and Theoretical Analysis of Perceptual Defense," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 52 (March, 1956), pp. 224-229.

TABLE 2. EFFECTS OF TAKING THE ROLE OF RETURNEE ON INDIVIDUAL RESPONSES

Response	Hypothesis	Mean Differences of Subject-Responses in Experimental Periods 2 and 3 *					Level of Significance †		Conclusion ‡
		(H ₁)	Null Hypothesis (H ₀)	Returnees (r)	Sedentes (s)	Difference (r-s)	t	P	
No. of Inventions (I)	Taking the role of returnee causes an increase in I	$I_r > I_s$	$I_r \leq I_s$	1.30	-1.20	2.50	2.55	.01	Accept H ₁
No. of Borrowings (B)	Taking the role of returnee causes an increase in B	$B_r > B_s$	$B_r \leq B_s$	0.60	-0.15	0.75	0.82	.3	Accept H ₀
No. of Habits (H)	Taking the role of returnee causes a decrease in H	$H_r < H_s$	$H_r \geq H_s$	2.40	6.39	-3.99	-1.09	.2	Accept H ₀

* Individual differences were obtained by subtracting the total number of responses in each category made by a subject in Period 2 from those made by him in Period 3. Means of the differences for all returnees (10) and of the means of 10 groups of 3 sedentes were then computed.

† There are 18 degrees of freedom ($N_r + N_s - 2$).

‡ The .02 level was accepted as indicative of a significant difference.

sis suggests that a person, confronted by an external threat, defends against it by altering his perceptual process. But what constitutes an external threat to a stranger? Do new ideas that confront him cause such inhibition, or does he feel threatened by his new associates? A glance over the original data show that new ideas are *not* responsible. In general the number of inventions made by strangers drops considerably in epoch 4 and increases very slightly through epochs 5 and 6. But the decline in epoch 4 occurs *before* the explanation period, i.e., before the stranger is confronted with his membership group's new ideas. Therefore these new ideas cannot cause the inhibition of his invention in epoch 4. And introspective evidence gained from interviews with strangers suggests that it is not threatening people who cause such inhibition. About half of the strangers preferred the "foreign" group to the "home" group, and some of them had more friends in the foreign group than in their group of origin. Only a few of the strangers admitted any feeling of uneasiness in the face of the people in the foreign group.¹⁹

¹⁹ The interviews, developed *ad hoc*, were done about two weeks after the experiments were completed. Because of this considerable lapse of time, we have been overly cautious in using the evidence of the interviews.

Thus far the cause of the inhibition of invention on the part of strangers can only be deduced by comparing this effect with the results of other experiments in perception. For example, Moffitt and Stagner found that, under conditions of threat-induced anxiety, previously established percepts are adhered to more tenaciously. They explain this fact by means of a "scanning" hypothesis, which suggests that anxiety is likely to cause the individual to "scan" his apperceptive mass more than the external stimulus material.²⁰ Since both habit and borrowing refer to past experience, this hypothesis may account for their persistence in our experiment. We believe that our interviews did not probe deeply enough to discern the character of the threat to the strangers, if it does indeed exist. Present data suggest only that the uncertainty of the stranger's role situation may constitute a threat to him, and he resorts to a kind of perceptual defense in the face of it.

The data concerning the returnee complement those for the stranger. They suggest that there is a release of inventiveness on returning to the "home" or reference group. The obverse of the explanation to account for the decline in stranger inventiveness would seem to apply here.

²⁰ J. Weldon Moffitt and Ross Stagner, "Perceptual Rigidity and Closure as Functions of Anxiety," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 52 (May, 1956), p. 355.

Do these results deliver the *coup de grace* to the hypotheses of Teggart,²¹ Stonequist,²² and Barnett²³ that the marginal role *may* stimulate innovation?²⁴ Not necessarily. In the first place, the rules by which small group conclusions may be projected onto the "outside world" have yet to be formulated. In this case several problems come to mind. Strangers in the "outside world" obviously may enter groups of much larger size than those found in our laboratory. These groups would have different physical environments (not so for our laboratory groups). Also, it seems probable that real strangers would not be selected at random. In the "outside world" both personality and social factors act to select a stranger-personality which may be predisposed to invent more than the average man.

Keeping these cautions in mind, we nevertheless agree with Rose and Felton who maintain (in regard to their findings for inventions in "open societies") that: "... our results do give reason to question any bland presumption that social mobility inevitably leads to cultural creativity."²⁵ However, it is possible to suggest a *rapprochement* between our findings and the hypothesis mentioned above. We believe that our strangers are not the kind of marginal men who have been described as creative in the literature. Our strangers hardly have time to incorporate a deep-seated frame of reference in their group of origin. By the time they may begin to feel less threatened in the foreign or membership group they are returned home. Under these conditions the possibility that the concept system of the membership group could make a "dent" in their previously-established frame of reference would be relatively slight. On the other hand the "creative" marginal man is socialized between two cultures, so that he internalizes the value systems of both. He therefore introjects any conflicts that exist between them. It is this introjected conflict that may make him an innovative individual. There is some evidence for this view in a

study by Wilson²⁶ who found considerable intra-personality conflict to be characteristic of American poets. That socialization between cultures may be *one* way of inducing such conflict is illustrated by the autobiography of the Negro writer, Langston Hughes.²⁷ Such an individual may be predisposed to both mental and social mobility and may react creatively to the variety of external stimuli provided by the latter. He would be a "creative stranger."

In this study we have concerned ourselves only with the quantitative aspects of responses. Some kind of qualitative analysis of the responses of strangers and returnees is still required and will be treated in a later paper. Further, our results point to several research problems in culture change. We now know some of the conditions that affect the invention rates of strangers and returnees in the laboratory. But we still must investigate the factors responsible for the acceptance or rejection of their inventions by their membership groups. And since cultures also change by diffusion, the borrowings between groups (through the medium of the stranger) should be analyzed. In these projects the hypotheses of Barnett²⁸ may be taken as starting points.

SUMMARY

A laboratory study was designed to test the influence of the role of stranger (and returnee) on certain responses of individuals in small groups. Reactions to a Rorschach card stimulus over an historical series of nine epochs were classified as inventions, borrowings, and habits. It was found that the role of stranger caused a decline in number of inventions while the role of returnee increased inventiveness.

In attempting to reconcile the lack of inventiveness of the stranger with the idea that marginality frequently stimulates invention, a distinction was made between the person socialized in a marginal situation and the person who is first introduced into such a situation for a comparatively short period of time as an adult. The former, when socially mobile, may be the legendary "creative stranger."

²¹ Teggart, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

²² Stonequist, *op. cit.*, p. 155f.

²³ Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

²⁴ According to Stonequist, *op. cit.*, p. 156, the marginal situation also may impose mental conformity, depending on its specific content. This is what may have happened in our experiment.

²⁵ Rose and Felton, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

²⁶ Robert Wilson, *The American Poet: A Role Investigation*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1952.

²⁷ Langston Hughes, *The Big Sea*, New York: Knopf, 1940.

²⁸ Barnett, *op. cit.*

AN EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF COALITIONS IN THE TRIAD *

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INCREASING attention has been given to the study of very small interacting groups like the dyad and the triad, models of interaction that are rather easily adapted to experimentation and to theorizing. The three-person situation can be studied in a variety of ways, ranging from the observation of how the members act towards each other¹ to the strict formulation of experimental conditions together with predictions regarding their consequences.² A purely rational approach is provided by the theory of games,³ although there has, as yet, been comparatively incomplete analysis of three-person games.

The point of most interest to social psychologists is the degree to which interaction corresponds to expectations stemming from the perceptions and motives of the participants, compared to those which would ensue

from the rational considerations developed by game theorists. The latter base their interpretations upon what would happen were the players to be guided solely by strict adherence to the conditions specified by the rules of the game, and, further, were each player to act according to complete understanding of the final consequences of his play. Clear examples of the difference between purely rational behavior and that which actually occurs in three-person groups is rather difficult to find, although a large amount of research is available on how factors such as status and need operate to influence the character of social interaction. These studies provide ample basis for inferring that there is indeed at least very frequent divergence between what would be expected on *a priori* rational grounds and what really transpires.

It is clear that the differential strength or power characterizing members of the group is a significant factor, one, in fact, that has numerous psychological dimensions not envisaged in game theory. The aim of the present experiment was to determine what actually occurs in three-person groups when the members are initially confronted with a variety of seeming power-relationships to each other. The point of departure was a series of hypotheses proposed by Caplow.⁴ He describes situations in which all three participants are equal in perceived power, ones in which one member is seen as much stronger than the other two (even in combination), and ones in which one or two persons are perceptibly stronger (but not so much so that the others in combination would not be more powerful).

After defining the six types of triad, Caplow proposes, as a consequence of logical analysis, that certain kinds of two-person coalitions can be predicted for each type.

⁴ Theodore Caplow, "A Theory of Coalitions in the Triad," *American Sociological Review*, 21 (August, 1956), pp. 489-493.

* We are much indebted to Paolo Comba of the Mathematics Department for assistance in formulating hypotheses derived from the theory of games.

¹ For instance, the Bales system for recording interaction could be employed for these very small groups (R. F. Bales, *Interaction Process Analysis: A Method for the Study of Small Groups*, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1950). Cf. The effective use of this technique, in Fred L. Strodbeck, "The Family as a Three-Person Group," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (February, 1954), pp. 23-29.

² E.g., as in Theodore M. Mills, "The Coalition Pattern in Three-Person Groups," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (December, 1954), pp. 657-667; in E. Paul Torrance, "Some Consequences of Power Differences in Decision Making in Permanent and Temporary Three-Man Groups," in A. Paul Hare, Edgar F. Borgatta, and Robert F. Bales (editors), *Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction*, New York: Knopf, 1955, pp. 482-492; in Strodbeck, *op. cit.*; see also W. Edgar Vinacke, *The Miniature Social Situation*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Psychological Laboratory, 1954. The last source gives a thorough treatment of methodological problems in the use of small laboratory groups.

³ John von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern, *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944; John C. C. McKinsey, *Introduction to the Theory of Games*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952.

The six types and the hypotheses derived from them may be formulated as follows where the letters A, B, C denote persons:

*Type I (1-1-1):*⁵ Where $A=B=C$, any combination is equally likely (i.e., there will be no difference in frequency among the alliances AB, AC, BC).

Type II (3-2-2): Where $A>B$, $B=C$, and $A<(B+C)$, the two weaker members will tend to form an alliance (BC will occur more often than AB or AC).

Type III (1-2-2): Where $A<B$ and $B=C$, coalitions including the weaker member are most likely (AB and AC will occur more often than BC).

Type IV (3-1-1): Where $A>(B+C)$ and $B=C$, no coalition is likely.

Type V (4-3-2): Where $A>B>C$ and $A<(B+C)$, the strongest member will least often be involved in coalitions (coalitions AC and BC will occur more often than AB).

Type VI (4-2-1): Where $A>B>C$, and $A>(B+C)$, no coalition is likely. Although additional propositions could be deduced, the present experiment was designed to test the six hypotheses stated above.

One must distinguish between two basic considerations that determine the strategy to be pursued by the members of the groups—let us call them players, since we will be concerned with a game. On the one hand, rational analysis of the final outcome—winning the game—can determine play; that is, a player might act solely in terms of how he can best achieve maximum winnings, in which case he must satisfactorily predict how each of the other two must act in order to win. This analysis is a concern of the theory of games. On the other hand, play may be determined according to the conditions that obtain at the point where play begins, that is, in terms of how the player interprets the position of himself in relation to the other two players. It is here, apparently, that Caplow's hypotheses apply.

Consider from the first point of view how members must assess the situation. Each player seeks to guarantee that he will win (or be on the winning side). There are only two possibilities in the six types presented

above: (a) in Types IV and VI only the strong man can possibly win and (b) in any of the other four types any couple can beat the third member, and, further, no one can win without forming a coalition. This assumes where one is initially stronger than the others will inevitably unite against him, and hence, he, too, must join a coalition in order to win. From this standpoint, alone, the initial power distribution in the case of (b) is meaningless, for, regardless of his own seeming strength, each player must enter a coalition with someone else. If the analysis is carried a step further, it is evident that no one can hope to obtain a greater advantage within the coalition than anyone else, so that not only is every pair equally likely to form a coalition, but every man must agree either to an equal division of the spoils or to give the greater share to his partner. A specific example will illustrate the point. Consider Type V, where initial power is divided on a 4-3-2 basis. It might be supposed that 3 and 2 would join forces because 4 is stronger; yet 4 must reason that exactly this situation would occur, hence, in order to win he must himself form a coalition with either 3 or 2. At the same time, he must anticipate that both 3 and 2 would be unwilling to give him more than 50 per cent of the winnings, because they could get at least that much by joining forces themselves. As a consequence, 4 would inevitably have to offer either 3 or 2 at least 50 per cent. Thus, all three are actually on an equal footing so far as winning is concerned. Exactly the same kind of reasoning applies to Types I, II, and III.

We can conclude, therefore, that only two types are really represented, those where each possible coalition is equally likely (types I, II, III, and V), and those where no coalition would form (Types IV and VI).

Let us turn now to the other factor, that involving the perceptions of the players at the outset of the game. Here, a very different interpretation arises, indeed, the very one proposed by Caplow. In this case, each player acts according to his initially perceived relation to the other two, rather than in terms of the final outcome of the game. There is no need to repeat Caplow's hypotheses, for they are clear enough in this sense.

Only one additional point is essential.

⁵ The figure in parentheses shows the strength-value assigned to members of the triad in the present experiment; thus, in Type I, each participant has a strength of "1."

Caplow's interpretation is supported by the fact that more reasoning is required in the case of certain participants than for others. For example, it is harder for an initially stronger member to reach the conclusion that the relative strengths are irrelevant (Types II, III, and V) than for the other one or two to arrive at this interpretation. In effect, the weaker members can immediately understand the necessity for forming a coalition, whereas the stronger member must go through more complex reasoning to do so. The theory of games, however, would not take this into account, but simply assumes that each player carries out all the steps required to act rationally.

We are left with the conclusion that an actual concrete test of Caplow's hypotheses will constitute a determination of the degree to which persons act according to rational analysis of the outcome of the game or whether they act according to their perceptions of the initial position they hold in relation to the other two. The experiment reported here permits a tentative answer to this question.

METHOD

Ninety male students from an introductory psychology course served as subjects in groups of three, making a total of thirty groups. A simple game situation was devised, in which different patterns of initial strength could readily be established, and yet of sufficient complexity to challenge the interest of the players. Power was varied according to a prearranged plan. There was every indication that the game succeeded in arousing keen interest and strong competition.

Apparatus for the experiment consisted of a modified pachisi board. Only the exterior lanes of the board were used, and the spaces of these lanes were numbered consecutively making a total of 67 spaces. The object of the game was to reach "home" first. The winner was awarded a prize of 100 points. In the event of a coalition, the prize was shared in a manner agreed upon by the allies. A single die, cast by the experimenter, was used. Each player's move was determined by the weight inscribed on the counter he drew from a hopper; he was entitled to move forward the number of spaces equal to his weight times the number shown by the

die. All of the players started from the same home base and moved simultaneously, that is, every player moved each time the die was thrown.

At any time during the game, any player, in return for a promise of a specified portion of the prize, could form an alliance with any other player. In this case, the allies immediately pooled their strengths and proceeded to a position equal to their combined acquired spaces; in future throws they moved forward according to their combined weights (times the die). Once an alliance was formed it was considered permanent for that game. Any player could concede defeat when his position appeared hopeless. Instructions presented to each player contained all these details of the game.

Before each game the experimenter, according to a prearranged schedule, placed three counters in the hopper with inscribed weights appropriate to the hypotheses. These weights were as follows:

Type	Weights		
	A	B	C
I. $A=B=C$	1	1	1
II. $A>B, B=C, A<(B+C)$	3	2	2
III. $A<B, B=C$	1	2	2
IV. $A>(B+C), B=C$	3	1	1
V. $A>B>C, A<(B+C)$	4	3	2
VI. $A>B>C, A>(B+C)$	4	2	1

Each group of subjects played through three series of games. Each series was composed of six games, one of each type; thus, each group played eighteen games. The serial order of types within each series was arranged according to a Latin square design which varied each type's position in the series systematically and ruled out the effect of the position of types in the series.

Rotation of conditions was by type of initial strength, not necessarily by player, which was left to chance in the drawing of counters. Order of draw was, however, rotated in order among the three participants, so that each drew first, second, and last an equal number of times. Once the draw was completed, each player was called "A," "B," or "C," depending upon the weight he drew. In instances where two or three members had the same weight, designation was by color of the counter (e.g., in Type I, green

TABLE 1. COALITIONS FORMED IN THE SIX TYPES OF POWER-PATTERNS IN TRIADS*

Allies	Type I (1-1-1) †	Type II (3-2-2)	Type III (1-2-2)	Type IV (3-1-1)	Type V (4-3-2)	Type VI (4-2-1)
AB	33	13	24	11	9	9
AC	17	12	40	10	20	13
BC	30	64	15	7	59	8
Total	80	89	79	28	88	30
(No Coalition)	10 ‡	1	11	62	2	60
χ^2	5.43	59.61	12.19	.93	47.07	1.40
d.f.	2	2	2	2	2	2
P	>.05	<.01	<.01	<.70	<.01	<.50

* In all tables, N=90 games for each type.

† The figures in parentheses show the power of the three members, e.g., in Type I, A=1, B=1, and C=1. In computing χ^2 , it was assumed that each pair would occur an equal number of times by chance.

‡ There were two three-way coalitions in this type; in a sense these might be considered to be mutual non-aggression pacts.

was always "A," blue was always "B," and red was always "C").

Finally, it should be noted that once the draw was completed, no further change in advantage was possible except through coalition. The option of "conceding" made it unnecessary to play any longer once the outcome was assured. In point of fact, the winner was decided without any play at all (i.e., the die was not even thrown) in 70 per cent of the games, ranging among types from 64 per cent to 73 per cent). Most of these occurred in the second or third series of games, indicating that players learned to decide the result without play. It may also be that players learned how to play more rationally, with the consequence that Series III may constitute a better test of the hypotheses from the theory of games.

RESULTS

We shall first address ourselves to the hypotheses arising from Caplow's analysis. That is, we shall present the evidence concerning coalitions actually formed in each of the six types of initial power distribution. Then we shall analyze certain other kinds of behavior, and relate the results to expectations derived from the theory of games.

Table 1 gives the distribution of coalitions for each type of triad. The evidence from the present experiment bearing upon Caplow's hypotheses may be summarized as follows:

1. In Type I, all three possible coalitions occurred a large number of times, but coalition AC is under-represented to a degree that approaches significance ($P>.05$). Detailed

analysis failed to disclose any reason for this anomaly, so that it may simply have arisen by chance.⁶ We can conclude, tentatively, that the first hypothesis is confirmed. (See, also, Table 2 where no difference occurred among the players with respect to the initiation of alliances.)

2. In Type II, as hypothesized, coalition BC is formed significantly more often than the other two. The second hypothesis is therefore confirmed.

3. In Type III, coalitions AB and AC were predicted as most probable. It is evident that both occur more often than coalition BC, but AC occurs relatively more frequently than AB. In general, the hypothesis is confirmed, but not in a uniform manner.

4. For Type IV it was hypothesized that few coalitions would be formed. The occurrence of only 28 alliances (31 per cent) is significantly less than in Types I, II, III, and V ($P<.01$). Thus, the fourth hypothesis is confirmed.

5. In Type V, it is quite apparent that the hypothesized result took place; coalition BC occurred most often, with AC next.

6. In Type VI, as in Type IV, it was hypothesized that few coalitions would be formed. Since only 30 alliances (33 per cent) were made (significantly different from Types I, II, III, and V, $P<.01$), this hypothesis is confirmed. To sum up, it is clear that the results agree very well with preliminary analysis by Caplow.

Turning now to additional points, the

⁶ Note in Table 4 that AC was least frequent in Series I and III, but about as expected in Series II. No apparent reason for this could be identified.

TABLE 2. MEMBER OF THE TRIAD INITIATING THE OFFER TO FORM A COALITION *

Initiator	Type I (1-1-1)	Type II (3-2-2)	Type III (1-2-2)	Type IV (3-1-1)	Type V (4-3-2)	Type VI (4-2-1)
A	21	17	28	2	18	4
B	26	40	18	32	26	19
C	26	31	27	20	43	26
Total †	73	88	73	54	87	49
χ^2	.69	9.17	2.49	25.33	11.24	15.50
d.f.	2	2	2	2	2	2
P	>.70	.01	<.30	<.01	<.01	<.01

* N=90 games for each type.

† In certain instances it was impossible to decide who initiated the offer, hence N's differ slightly from those in Table 1. There are also offers made when no coalition was formed, especially in Types IV and VI.

present experiment permitted analysis of behavior that accompanied establishment of coalitions, namely, which partner initiated the alliance and what sort of agreement was reached. Table 2 presents evidence pertinent to the initiation of alliances. There was no significant tendency in either Type I or Type III, for any member to propose coalition more often than any other. In the other four types, however, marked differences occurred as to which participant initiated attempts at coalition. In these types it is clear that the players who were initially weakest were most likely to seek alliances, namely, B and C in Type II, B and C in Type IV, B and C in Type V, and B and C in Type VI.

Finally, Table 3 presents the kinds of agreements or "deals" involved in the alliances. It is evident that the kind of perceived power pattern strongly influenced the sort of agreement reached. Where discrepancies in strength were perceptually very pronounced (Types IV and VI), highly disproportionate division of the prize occurred.⁷ Where the partners were equal to begin with, or nearly so (Types I and II), equal division was the rule. In situations where one of the participants was weaker than the other two (Types III and V; also Type VI), unequal, but not pronouncedly so, deals were made.

Turning to the alternative hypotheses suggested in the theory of games, the rational considerations we have postulated propose

⁷ An analysis not given here shows that the division of the prize agrees significantly with the difference in strength of the partners. In Type VI, for example, the deals in the category "1/99 to 29/71" favor "A." The uniformity of this result for other types, also, runs counter to expectations from the theory of games.

that (a) no coalitions will occur in Types IV and VI, and (b) no differences will occur in the other types in the frequency with which each of the three possible coalitions is formed. The first expectation is generally in agreement with Caplow's hypotheses, but the second is not, except for the initially equal condition of Type I. For Types II, III, and V, therefore, confirmation of Caplow's hypotheses constitutes negative evidence for expectations from game theory. Exceptions run counter to both theories, although the Caplow approach can readily account for them by invoking a variety of psychological and social factors.⁸

Since the results support Caplow very well, we must reject the interpretation, in this instance, in terms of game theory. That is, rather than employing a strategy based upon recognition of the irrelevance of the initial strength relationships, members of triads acted according to their perceptions of these power systems. In Types II, III, and V, to be quite explicit, the expectation that all possible coalitions would occur equally often was not borne out.

There are, however, two additional points to be examined before the hypotheses from the theory of games are finally rejected.⁹ First, we can assume that some learning took place from the first to the third series of

⁸ For instance, Caplow points out that coalitions in Types IV and VI may result from "extraneous" factors such as an appeal to good-will. We found that this is often the case.

⁹ A third point we consider inappropriate, namely, that our situation was not a sufficiently pure test of game theory—that, for example, we might have instructed the subjects in how to analyze outcome. This would be like looking at all four hands in a bridge game.

TABLE 3. KINDS OF AGREEMENT REACHED IN SIX TYPES OF POWER PATTERNS IN TRIADS *

Division of Prize	Type I (1-1-1)		Type II (3-2-2)		Type III (1-2-2)		Type IV (3-1-1)		Type V (4-3-2)		Type VI (4-2-1)	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
50/50	48	60	62	70	31	39	11	39	41	47	7	23
30/70 to 49/51	25	31	21	24	30	38	3	11	39	44	9	30
1/99 to 29/71	7	9	6	7	18	23	14	50	8	9	14	47
Total	80 †	100	89	101	79	100	28	100	88	100	30	100
χ^2	31.64		56.59		3.98		6.96		23.36		2.60	
d.f.	2		2		2		2		2		2	
P	<.01		<.01		<.20		<.05		<.01		<.30	

* N=90 games for each type.

† Two triple coalitions omitted.

games, a possible consequence being that players would come to act more rationally (according to analysis of outcome). Second, one might regard those triads that did not act according to game theory as "exceptions" to rational play, and examine the reasons.

With respect to learning, Table 4 presents relevant data. There is no significant difference between Series I and Series III in kinds of coalition formed, so far as Types I, II, III, and V are concerned, i.e., in those situations where strictly rational considerations would result in a tendency for each possible coalition to occur equally often. In short, the experience of playing through two series (60 games) does not teach the players to base

their play on outcome, rather than perception of initial strength.

There is, however, a learning effect with respect to the necessity to form coalitions. This is shown in two ways. First, players learn that coalitions are essential in Types I, II, III, and V, since 83 per cent of the non-coalitions for these types occur in Series I, and only 4 per cent occur in Series III. Second, players learn that it is unnecessary to form coalitions in Types IV and VI, since 39 per cent of the non-coalitions occur in Series III, but only 26 per cent in Series I. All but one of the former include the strongest member. This effect agrees with either set of hypotheses, but more with Caplow's,

TABLE 4. COALITIONS FORMED IN SIX TYPES OF TRIAD FOR EACH SERIES OF GAMES *

Allies	Series	Type I (1-1-1)	Type II (3-2-2)	Type III (1-2-2)	Type IV (3-1-1)	Type V (4-3-2)	Type VI (4-2-1)
AB	I	9	4	7	4	3	4
	II	10	5	10	5	2	2
	III	14	4	7	2	4	3
	Total	33	13	24	11	9	9
AC	I	3	3	9	2	5	4
	II	9	5	17	4	7	6
	III	5	4	14	4	8	3
	Total	17	12	40	10	20	13
BC	I	11	22	3	7	21	7
	II	9	20	3	0	20	0
	III	10	22	9	0	18	1
	Total	30	64	15	7	59	8
No Coalition							
	I	7	1	11	17	1	15
	II	2	0	0	21	1	22
	III	1	0	0	24	0	23
	Total	10	1	11	62	2	60

* N=90 games for each type.

Note: There are no statistically significant differences between Series I and III, except for "No Coalition," as pointed out in the text.

which allows for some coalitions in these types.

Consider now the instances that fail to agree with the hypotheses of rational play—the possible “exceptions.” A general kind of exception may be noted first. In Table 3 it is shown that a very high proportion of the deals were of the 50/50 variety; of these, in turn, 79 per cent involved no bargaining, i.e., the first offer was accepted. A difficulty arises in the case of these coalitions because we cannot be certain why they took place. According to game theory, we should expect this result, because a 50/50 deal is the best that can rationally be obtained—no player who finds himself in a position to enter this kind of deal would entertain another offer. No bargaining would occur, in this case. Yet, the Caplow analysis also enables us to expect the same result, for in Types I, II, III, and IV there are at least two players who perceive themselves as equal, hence would be reluctant to form disproportionate alliances. Fortunately, a partial test is provided by an analysis of which players formed 50/50 deals. The pattern corresponds precisely with what would be expected from the distribution in Table 4. In the two crucial Types II and III, 50/50 coalitions without bargaining occurred in Series III as follows: Type II with 18 of these alliances—AB 11 per cent, AC 11 per cent, and BC 78 per cent; Type III with 12 of these alliances—AB 8 per cent, AC 33 per cent, and BC 58 per cent. In sum, the conclusion is warranted that players made deals in accordance with perceived strength, with the result that those having the same weight divided the prize equally, and those having different weights made disproportionate agreements.

Other ways of viewing exceptions are to look at Table 1 for occurrences that depart from an equal distribution (Types I, II, III, and V), or which represent the formation or non-formation of coalitions contrary to hypotheses (Types IV and VI, especially).

An exhaustive analysis of all possible kinds of exceptions failed to disclose any factor that would explain them, save as already mentioned in terms of initial perceptions of strength. Space precludes giving all of these attempts, but one is worth mentioning. Scrutiny of the data reveals only one phenomenon that can confidently be identi-

fied as exceptional, namely, the cases where coalitions were formed in Types IV and VI, contrary to both sets of hypotheses. Accordingly, all groups that formed at least one coalition among these six games were compared in detail with those that never established a coalition under these conditions. The latter numbered eight groups; eleven made coalitions in one or two games of these types; and the remaining eleven made coalitions in from three to six of them. A rough index of “irrational” play is thus available, using Types IV and VI as criteria. Judgments of rationality were made for each game of Types I, II, III, and V, based upon what would be expected with complete analysis of outcome. Unfortunately, no significant differences in number of games played rationally in the other four types occurred for the groups playing most rationally on Types IV and VI compared to those groups playing least rationally. Indeed, a game-by-game analysis disclosed the remarkable fact that among the groups which played “irrationally” on all six games of Types IV and VI, one of them played “rationally” on all 12 games of the other four types; among the eight groups which played “rationally” on all six games of Types IV and VI, only one group played “rationally” in the other 12 games.¹⁰

DISCUSSION

We have suggested that behavior displayed by three persons in a competitive game situation may be considered from either of two points of view. According to one, the game may be played strictly in terms of the final outcome, insofar as this can be determined. Ordinary games depend upon individual skill or luck to make the outcome uncertain, so that winning requires a manipulation of these elements. Under these conditions, although alliances of either a temporary or lasting character may occur, each player strives to overcome all his rivals. In the game-situation utilized in this experiment,

¹⁰ An average of 27 per cent of the games of Types I, II, III, and IV were played “irrationally” by the eight most “rational” groups, compared to 35 per cent by the seven least “rational” groups, using the Type IV-VI criterion. This difference does not even approach statistical significance, employing a t-test.

however, the element of luck enters solely at the time of the initial drawing of weights; thereafter, the value of the die is exactly the same for all participants at each throw, that is, all move simultaneously. Ostensibly, skill enters only to the extent that one player can outwit another in establishing an alliance which permits him to be on the winning side. The outcome simply depends upon which pair unites its forces (excluding the times when one man is stronger than the other two in combination). Thus, from this standpoint alone, all other factors are irrelevant—the number of moves specified by the die, the initial weights, and the position of the players during the course of the game. We deduce from purely rational considerations, that a strategy based on outcome would actually place each player on an equal footing with each other player. Thus, for the four types of games where alliances are necessary to win, no coalition is any more likely than any other, and, further, no one can assume that he should receive a larger portion of the winnings than his partner.

According to the other view, strategy can be based upon the initial perceptions of the relative strengths of the three players. Under these circumstances, (excluding, again, the straight power types), four different patterns were present, the assessment of which would lead to the notion that winning depends upon balancing one set of weights against another set. In this event, the moves permitted by the value of the die are not immediately seen to be irrelevant (although sooner or later this conclusion is reached, as witnessed by the abandonment of actual play following the setting of coalitions). Further, the initial weights are regarded as anything but irrelevant; on the contrary, coalitions are based upon them, to a very great degree, both in the seeking of a partner and in the kind of division of the winnings agreed upon. The hypotheses proposed by Caplow, it is suggested, pertain to this strategy, actually stating what would be expected were players attending to the initial distribution of strength, rather than to the outcome.

As a test of these two modes of viewing the game, our experiment sustains Caplow's hypotheses, rather than those predicated upon a *priori* analysis of outcome (what has been referred to as "rational" play). This is

not to say that members of the triads did not play to win, nor that they did not behave in a fashion to guarantee their winning. Rather it means that players saw their best strategy to lie in manipulating the positions in which they initially found themselves. Such evidence as we were able to obtain indicated that this consideration determined the play of all groups at least some of the time, and most of the groups most of the time. In short, we have no evidence that any group really discovered the strategy based on analysis of outcome.

It must be remembered that people tend to act according to their perceptions of a situation, and not according to what a fully informed theorist might expect. People play games, very often, according to the apparently advantageous strategy rather than the strategy they ought to follow. In our game situation, they played the way they thought they had to play in order to win. It happens, apparently, that they played in terms of the initial distribution of strength, rather than in terms of purely rational analysis of outcome. After the fact, it is really not surprising that our groups behaved as they did, for they simply acted according to their perceptions.

A few remarks may be made about this particular game situation. For one thing, it is evident that, as various persons have pointed out, the triad situation may favor weaker members over those who are initially stronger. (Indeed, according to our analysis in terms of outcome, the initially weakest person may actually be equal to the strongest.) Where play was determined by initial perception of strength, the weakest member was found to be most often a member of the winning coalition; furthermore, his share of the winnings was larger than his strength might seem to warrant, mainly because there was competition for him, because the other players saw him as weaker, hence more readily to be induced into partnership.

Turning to the straight power conditions (Types IV and VI), where one member is stronger than the other two combined, no coalition is likely unless some "extraneous means" is found to persuade the strongest player to enter an alliance, or unless the two weaker members fail properly to assess their position. In the present experiment, although relatively fewer coalitions were formed in

these situations than in the others, nevertheless, a substantial number occurred (in 31 per cent and 33 per cent of the games in Types IV and VI, respectively). We have pointed out above that there is a tendency for players to learn not to form coalitions in these types; however, even on the third series of games, coalitions were formed in 20 per cent of the games in Type IV and 23 per cent of the games in Type VI. In fact, learning was more a matter of eliminating coalitions between the two weak players than of avoiding coalitions (see Table 4). If any evidence were needed that players are not guided primarily by "rational" considerations, it is provided by this result. It is true that in some instances, players did not fully understand their actual position, i.e., that the strongest member could win no matter what they did. At other times, however, "extraneous" factors were amply apparent. Appeals were made not to be "greedy," or to oppose a third member who appeared to be successful in a disproportionate number of games, or as a reward for past alliance or promise for future ones. Numerous other factors could be cited, but these are enough to illustrate that even where rational play is easiest to understand, there is no reason to expect that players will act in all instances according to expectation.

Although observed only rarely in this experiment, there were also a couple of instances in which semi-permanent alliances appeared to develop. In particular, one case was noted in which two subjects of an experimental group almost invariably allied against a third. Thus, except when the third player drew invincible power in Type IV or VI, his opponents were assured of a share in the prize. As the games continued, each member of this alliance became increasingly reluctant to make overtures or to entertain offers from the third member of the triad, since to do so would, as each openly expressed it, invite his ally to do likewise, with the result that security would be disrupted. For his part, the third member of the triad attempted to break the alliance, even to the

extent of offering to form a coalition when he drew the unbeatable position in Type IV or VI, but to no avail.¹¹

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A simple game situation was devised to test hypotheses formulated by Caplow pertaining to the formation of coalitions in triads having six patterns of initial strength. The data also were examined in terms of expectations derived from game theory. The two sets of hypotheses were interpreted to stem from perception of initial strength (Caplow) and from analysis of final outcome (game theory). Data were obtained from thirty groups, each playing three games of each type, or 18 in all. Strength was varied by having players draw counters with requisite weights. Conclusions are as follows:

1. Coalitions formed under the conditions of this experiment conformed to Caplow's predictions, and run counter to those based on the theory of games. That is, players appeared to be influenced primarily by perception of their relative strengths at the outset of the game.
2. There was no evidence that players tended to play more in terms of analysis of outcome ("rational" strategy) in later series of games. They did, however, learn when coalitions are either essential or non-essential.
3. The initiation of offers to ally conformed to the initial power patterns of the game. In general, players perceiving themselves as weaker significantly more often initiated offers.
4. The general kinds of agreement reached corresponded closely to perception of initial strength. Bargaining sometimes resulted in alliances that deviated from this relationship, but these departures could also be accounted for in terms of strategy based on perception of initial strength.

¹¹ Personality variables were readily apparent in many other ways, too, which space limitations preclude discussing. Certainly, a situation such as ours is very well suited to the experimental manipulation of motives, attitudes, traits, etc.

ETHNICITY, SOCIAL CLASS, AND ADOLESCENT INDEPENDENCE FROM PARENTAL CONTROL *

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DURING the years of adolescence the individual moves toward independence from parental control. In a society characterized by rapid social change and the lack of explicit norms regarding this transition, there are likely to be variations in the handling of the adolescent. Some families may grant a great degree of independence to the adolescent. Others may continue to supervise and restrict the adolescent much as they do younger children.

In this study the differences between certain ethnic groups and between social classes are investigated with regard to the degree of independence from parental control granted the adolescent. Members of Southern Italian and Eastern European Jewish ethnic groups in New Haven, Connecticut were selected for study. These groups were similar in their time of arrival and place of settlement in this country but had different cultural backgrounds. Differences could reasonably be attributed to ethnicity only if the groups compared had an approximately equal time in which to become acculturated and assimilated.

No research is reported in the literature contrasting these two ethnic groups with regard to adolescent independence. Studies describing the cultural background of these two groups indicate that both Italian and Jewish children were traditionally subordinated to their parents.¹ Patriarchal authority

stressed the duties rather than the rights of the child in Italy. So long as the father lived, the sons owed him a great measure of respect and obedience, whether they were married or not.

This subordination also characterized Jewish culture, but in intellectual matters individuality and independence were highly valued. The contrast between physical and intellectual matters was great in the life of the boy. As soon as he started his studies, sometimes at the age of three, he was treated as an adult in matters of the intellect. But even when physically mature, he was still a "baby" to his mother who never stopped worrying about his health, warmth and safety. The child was taught to respect authority not because of the person who embodied it but because of the matter it pertained to. He was taught to question authority in his schooling, since even the Divine Law is subject to interpretation. Thus, in intellectual matters independence was encouraged while in other activities the Jewish son appears to have received no strikingly different treatment than the Italian boy. The greater encouragement in intellectual matters given the Jewish boy might carry over to other activities, but in Italian culture this possibility did not exist. At any rate, no inference concerning the direction of differences between Italian and Jewish adolescents with regard to independence

* Expanded version of paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1956, and based on the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1956. The writer is indebted to Theodore Anderson, Leo W. Simmons, and August B. Hollingshead of Yale University and to Karl F. Schuessler and Albert K. Cohen of Indiana University for their valuable advice and suggestions.

¹ The following sources were helpful in describing Southern Italian culture: Paul J. Campisi, "Ethnic Family Patterns: The Italian Family in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, 53 (January, 1948), pp. 443-446; Irving L. Child, *Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943; Caroline Ware,

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from parental control seems possible from available evidence.

With regard to social class variations there is little explicit concern in the literature with adolescent independence. An early study by Dimock,² using a crude measure labelled "emancipation from parents," found no correlation between socio-economic status and this measure. Nye found that adolescent-parent adjustment is "better" in the higher socio-economic levels where adolescents scored higher on "feeling of being loved and secure, feeling that parents trust and have confidence in them, socialization including disciplinary relationships, attitudes toward the parents' personality, and relationships in interaction affecting the adolescent's contact with groups outside the family."³ Landis and Stone⁴ report that social classes do not differ in terms of whether parental authority patterns are democratic, authoritarian, or intermediate. The democratic authority pattern resembles the definition of independence from parental control used in this study.

PROCEDURE

Twenty-five questionnaire items were compiled, some drawn from studies of adolescents by Nye⁵ and Landis and Stone,⁶ the others constructed by the writer. Each item was stated in multiple choice form with the answer categories ranging from "high" independence to "low" independence. Some areas of activity such as driving the family car, parties in the home, or holding a job were deliberately omitted since some boys might not engage in them. The numbers assigned to the items, which are somewhat abbreviated for presentation here, do not represent the order in which they appeared in the original questionnaire but are arbitrarily assigned for purposes of clarity.

² Helen S. Dimock, *Rediscovering the Adolescent*, New York: Association Press, 1937, pp. 144-145.

³ Ivan Nye, "Adolescent-Parent Adjustment—Socio-Economic Level as a Variable," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (June, 1951), p. 344.

⁴ Paul H. Landis and Carol L. Stone, "The Relationship of Parental Authority Patterns to Teen-Age Adjustments," Bulletin No. 538, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station, Pullman: State College of Washington, 1952.

⁵ Nye, *op. cit.*

⁶ Landis and Stone, *op. cit.*

Questionnaire Items

1. Before I go out on dates, parents ask me where I am going: never; seldom; half the time; usually; always
2. Before I go out on dates, parents ask me with whom I am going: never; seldom; half the time; usually; always
3. Do you have to account to parents for way you spend your money: not at all; for some of spending; for almost all spending
4. Are you allowed trips out of town without parents: whenever I want; almost everytime I want; sometimes; rarely; never
5. Do parents check on whether you do your homework: never; seldom; half the time; most of the time; almost always
6. In family discussions do parents encourage your opinion: always; usually; half the time; seldom; never
7. With regard to family problems, parents discuss them with me: always; usually; half the time; seldom; never
8. Do parents give opportunities to share responsibilities: as much as I like; almost as much as I like; yes, but not as much as I like; no, only rarely; no, never
9. Parents respect my opinion and judgment: all of the time; most of the time; half the time; seldom; never
10. In family discussions, parents take my opinion seriously: almost always; usually; sometimes; seldom; never
11. When requiring me to do something, parents explain the reason: always; usually; half the time; seldom; never
12. With regard to whom I go on dates with parents criticize: never; seldom; half the time; usually; always
13. With regard to where I go on dates, parents criticize: never; seldom; half the time; usually; always
14. When invited to relative's home, parents insist you go with them: never; seldom; half the time; usually; always
15. Do parents try to influence choice of occupation: never; hardly at all; try slightly; try moderately; try very hard
16. Does (Do) parent(s) help you buy your clothes: hardly ever; sometimes; usually; always
17. With regard to evenings out, parents allow: every evening if I wish; all week-end, some school nights; week-end, not school nights; only occasional evening; almost never allowed out
18. Who makes final decision on buying clothes: I do without parents' advice; I do with parents' advice; parents with my advice; parents without my advice

19. Who makes your doctor or dentist appointments: I do myself; I do with parents' agreement; parents do with my agreement; parents without asking me
20. When parents don't approve of a boy you spend a lot of time with what do they do: they never disapprove; tell me but leave it up to me; tell me to stop seeing him but don't insist; insist I stop seeing him
21. What do parents think of boys you spend a lot of time with: approve all; most; some; very few; none
22. Where do you get most of your spending money: money I earn; a regular allowance; money given as needed but no regular allowance; money earned plus regular allowance; money earned plus money given as needed
23. Considering the family income, my parents, if I need money, are: very generous; fairly generous; average; rather stingy; very stingy
24. Is father unreasonable in his commands: frequently; occasionally; only rarely; never
25. Is mother unreasonable in her commands: frequently; occasionally; only rarely; never

The questionnaire was administered to sophomore boys in public and private high schools in New Haven during regularly scheduled classroom periods.⁷ A number of background items were included in the questionnaire to determine the boy's ethnic background and his parents' social class. Persons were classified in the Italian ethnic group if both parents were Italian by country of birth or nationality, and at least three of four grandparents Italian. Jews were so defined if both parents had Jewish religious affiliation. The country of birth of the parents or grandparents was used to distinguish Jews from Eastern Europe (Russia, Poland, Hungary or Rumania) from other Jews. Although it was not possible to distinguish between Northern and Southern Italians, most Italians in New Haven are from Southern Italy and Sicily.⁸ The group labelled Other Ethnic is a residual category.

The following additional controls were applied: cases of homes broken by death, separation, or divorce were excluded; only members of the Caucasian race were included; and, from the Italian and Jewish

groups, cases of mixed ethnic marriages in the parental generation were excluded.

Almost all boys (92 per cent) were between the ages of 15 and 17, the median age being 15 years and 10 months. In the case of both the Italian and Jewish groups, 56 per cent of the boys were third generation Americans, i.e., parents born in the U. S., and approximately one-third⁹ were second generation. Thus, these two groups are roughly comparable in terms of their length of residence in America.

However, they differ considerably when classified according to Hollingshead's Index of Social Position,¹⁰ a measure of social class based on the father's occupation, education, and ecological area of residence. Table 1 presents a breakdown of the Italian, Jewish and Other Ethnic groups by social class. It will be observed that 88 per cent of the Jews are found in the three highest social classes in contrast to 10 per cent of the Italians.

Constructing a Measure of Independence.

Twenty of the original twenty-five items were first submitted to Guttman scale analysis to determine whether the content area was uni-dimensional.¹¹ The response cate-

⁹ The actual figures are 37 per cent for the Italians and 34 per cent for the Jews. The group labelled Other Ethnic showed a smaller proportion of second generation boys, 15 per cent, approximately the same proportion of third generation, 51 per cent, but a larger proportion of fourth generation, 31 per cent. Thus, the Other Ethnic group includes more of the earlier immigrants.

¹⁰ August B. Hollingshead and Fritz C. Redlich, "Social Stratification and Psychiatric Disorders," *American Sociological Review*, 18 (April, 1953), pp. 163-169, present a detailed description of the five classes in the New Haven community this index describes.

The social class distribution of all boys in the present sample was found to compare favorably with the 5 per cent Random Sample of Households in the New Haven community reported by Hollingshead and Redlich. A chi-square test of significance comparing the two samples revealed a p value greater than .05.

¹¹ Of the five excluded one item revealed no spread of responses (No. 21), one had been designed merely as an introduction to another item which was included (No. 22), and three were judged by inspection to be unrelated to the variable independence from parental control (Nos. 23, 24, and 25). One additional item (No. 20) was included in the scale analysis but eliminated from the factor analysis when it was later discovered that 17 per cent of the respondents had either left it unanswered or checked it as inapplicable.

⁷ Ninety-four percent of the regularly enrolled sophomore boys in these schools completed the questionnaire.

⁸ Jerome K. Meyers, "The Differential Time Factor in Assimilation," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1949), p. 26.

TABLE 1. ETHNIC GROUPS BY SOCIAL CLASS

Social Class	Italians		Jews		Other Ethnic		Total	
	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent	N	Per Cent
I and II *	2	1.1	23	33.8	40	17.7	65	13.7
III	17	9.3	37	54.4	57	25.2	111	23.3
IV	110	60.4	7	10.3	107	47.3	224	47.0
V	48	26.4	—	—	13	5.8	61	12.8
Unknown †	5	2.7	1	1.5	9	4.0	15	3.2
	182	99.9	68	100.0	226	100.0	476	100.0

* Because of the small number of cases in Class I, Classes I and II are combined.

† Unknown cases are those in which the respondent did not provide sufficient information to permit class assignment.

gories for items included in the scale analysis were dichotomized by determining where a "logical" split could be made between the categories.¹² Scale analysis revealed that more than one dimension existed; the coefficient of reproducibility on the second approximation reached only .84.

In order to establish the number of major dimensions involved in this content area, factor analysis was then employed. For each pair of items a tetrachoric correlation coefficient was computed based on all 476 cases.¹³ The matrix of tetrachoric correlations is set out in Table 2. Thurstone's centroid method for factor analysis was then applied.¹⁴ Four factors were extracted and after four orthogonal and five oblique rotations of the axes, a simple structure solution was achieved. Table 3 presents the oblique rotated factor matrix. The factor loadings for items included in a particular factor are in bold face type in the column labeled with the name of the factor. Interpretations of the four factors are based on the factor load-

ings in Table 3 considering only those loadings above .200 as significant.

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FACTORS

Factor 1, defined by Items 1-5, is concerned with a number of activities that involve parental supervision. These items involve activities that occur outside the home with the possible exception of Item 5 concerning checking on homework. The parents may supervise these activities directly or indirectly and punish the son by withholding permission for his participating or by exercising close supervision of his performance. The adolescent who scores high on this cluster of items may be said to be relatively free from parental supervision in his activities outside the home. For this reason the factor has been labelled Permissiveness in Outside Activities.

Factor 2 includes seven items (Nos. 4 and 6-11) concerning family discussions and decisions made in the home. Each of these items involves verbal interaction between parents and son and, with the exception of Item 4, concern no specific issue but rather seem to reflect the general regard that the parents have for the son's opinion or judgment. Consequently, this factor is labelled Parental Regard for Judgment.

Factor 3 is a little more heterogeneous. It includes five items (Nos. 9 and 12-15). The activities involved here seem to be those which affect the son's "reputation" or "character." Each of the activities has implications for how others will regard him. His choice of an occupation, his visiting relatives, whom he dates and where he goes on dates may be the object of his parents' concern that he "do the right thing" so that

¹² For example, for No. 9, it seems reasonable to group categories (1) all of the time and (2) most of the time; to also group (4) seldom and (5) never; and to place category (3) half the time, with either of these groups depending on the distribution of responses. Categories (1) and (2) contained 64 per cent of the responses and if category (3) were included with these the percentage would rise to 90. In order to avoid as extreme a split as this, category (3) was placed with the bottom two categories.

¹³ It should be cautioned that factor analysis results based on the tetrachoric correlation coefficient are likely to have greater variability than those based on the Pearsonian *r*. See Raymond B. Cattell, *Factor Analysis*, New York: Harper and Bros., 1952, pp. 326-327.

¹⁴ L. L. Thurstone, *Multiple Factor Analysis*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947.

TABLE 2. ORIGINAL TETRACHORIC CORRELATION MATRIX FOR 19 QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS *

Item Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1	-	.742	.518	.194	.280	-.172	-.115	-.168	-.207	-.104	-.156	.072	.144	.246	.007	.420	.347	.178	.037
2		-	.455	.106	.169	-.020	-.142	-.054	-.063	-.099	-.212	.195	.208	.267	-.056	.439	.338	.212	.072
3			-	.374	.265	-.162	-.135	-.021	-.085	-.084	.088	.308	.217	.262	.045	.137	.249	.154	-.042
4				-	.151	.001	.097	.171	.183	.168	-.029	.006	.063	.115	-.058	.201	.348	.027	.171
5					-	-.156	-.264	-.163	-.171	-.142	-.153	.094	-.019	.200	.010	.149	.315	.081	-.003
6						-	.517	.444	.474	.456	.251	-.027	-.035	-.268	.021	-.002	-.132	-.037	.024
7							-	.561	.358	.374	.314	-.061	-.109	-.031	-.024	.115	-.141	-.027	.014
8								-	.510	.345	.220	.152	.096	.024	.073	.058	-.202	.038	.041
9									-	.548	.268	.340	.118	.119	.177	.023	-.008	.013	.037
10										-	.238	.006	-.087	.041	.049	.069	.000	-.035	.091
11											-	-.020	-.075	.043	-.068	.083	-.084	.040	.061
12												-	.634	.226	.205	.210	.246	.078	.109
13													-	.383	.195	.259	.237	.117	.008
14														-	.052	.187	.330	.291	.054
15															-	-.107	.026	-.039	-.057
16																-	.489	.646	.231
17																	-	.295	.148
18																		-	.142
19																			-

* Decimals, properly preceding each entry, have been omitted for purposes of clarity.

others will have a "good opinion" of him. This factor is labelled Activities with Status Implications.

The activities in Factor 4 (Nos. 14 and 16-19) refer to matters related to the age of the boy. Buying clothes, making doctor and dentist appointments, evenings out, and

visiting relatives probably vary more with the age of the boy than the activities in Factor 3. At his present age, making such choices is an indication of his greater freedom from parental control and this factor is called Permissiveness in Age-Related Activities.

TABLE 3. FACTOR LOADINGS * OF 19 ITEMS GROUPED BY EACH OF THE FOUR FACTORS; OBLIQUE ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX V

Item No.	Permissiveness in Outside Activities	Parental Regard for Judgment	Activities with Status Implications	Permissiveness in Age-Related Activities	Communality h^2
1	.644	-.041	-.071	.032	.650
2	.617	-.012	.066	-.015	.611
3	.550	.042	.088	-.036	.464
4	.284	.231	-.090	.183	.218
5	.210	-.187	-.086	.130	.186
6	.071	.698	-.071	-.015	.520
7	.071	.688	-.056	.005	.500
8	.149	.688	.171	-.100	.506
9	-.103	.621	.426	.027	.623
10	-.057	.603	.083	.130	.161
11	-.124	.345	.038	.119	.177
12	.003	.015	.704	.013	.584
13	.016	-.091	.668	.003	.550
14	.051	-.074	.350	.209	.313
15	-.024	.033	.338	-.149	.123
16	.004	.061	-.042	.724	.702
17	.064	-.132	.021	.542	.517
18	-.089	-.029	.055	.522	.349
19	-.094	.046	-.038	.320	.110

* The factor loadings represent the correlation between each item and the factor in question.

INTERCORRELATIONS OF THE FACTORS

Table 4 presents the intercorrelations of the four factors after the five oblique rotations. Primary Factors 1, 3, and 4 show positive intercorrelations with the highest correlation existing between 1 and 4, Permissiveness in Outside Activities and Permissiveness in Age-Related Activities respectively. Factor 2, Parental Regard for Judgment, is negatively correlated with Factor 1 and shows low negative correlations with Factors 3 and 4.

An examination of the original tetrachoric correlations between items (Table 2) leads to comparable results. For example, the mean (which is here used for summarizing purposes) of the correlation coefficients for every item in Factor 1 with every item in Factor 4 is .197, which is larger than the mean of the inter-item correlations between Factors 1 and 3 (.067), and Factors 3 and 4 (.072). The mean of the coefficients between items in Factors 1 and 2 is negative (-.123), while for Factors 2 and 3 and Factors 2 and 4 it is positive and low (.072 and .033 respectively). The foregoing computations exclude any common items found in the two factors being compared.

By comparison, the intra-factor item by item correlations, i.e. the mean of the coefficients for items within a particular factor, are all positive and larger than the above-mentioned means of the inter-factor item by item coefficients. For Factors 1, 2, 3, and 4 these are .325, .308, .245, and .281 respectively. Computations exclude the correlation between an item and itself which is unity.

We conclude that the factors determined by the factor analysis represent different dimensions of independence from parental control and are only moderately intercorre-

lated. Factors 1 and 4 come closest to representing a general independence factor. The negative correlation found between Factors 1 and 2 (in Table 4) and also in the inter-factor item by item comparison (in Table 2) indicates that Factor 2 bears a qualitatively different relation to the other dimensions of independence. An interpretation of this relation will be advanced below.

ETHNIC GROUPS

The first hypothesis to be tested was stated in null form: There are no differences between Italian and Jewish ethnic groups with regard to the degree of independence from parental control granted the adolescent boy.

A scale score for each individual on each of the four dimensions of independence was computed,¹⁵ and there are thus four tests of the hypothesis. Because of the different social class composition of the two ethnic groups, the analysis of variance¹⁶ was chosen as the most suitable statistical test since it would permit controlling for social class when testing for ethnic differences. Four separate analysis of variance tests were made testing for the difference between ethnic groups holding class constant and four tests of class differences holding ethnicity constant. The latter findings will be discussed below under social class.

¹⁵ The procedure used to compute individual scores for each dimension required the calculation of normalized standard scores for the response categories in each questionnaire item. A weight was assigned to each response category in a particular item, this weight being a normalized standard score derived in the manner described by Allen L. Edwards, *Statistical Methods for the Behavioral Sciences*, New York: Rinehart, 1954, pp. 107-111. In order to take into account the factor loading that was determined from the factor analysis, each response category weight was multiplied by the factor loading for the particular item and divided by the standard deviation of the distribution of responses to the particular item. To eliminate negative scores an arbitrary constant of 100 was added to all scores.

¹⁶ In order to correct for disproportionality in the number of Italian and Jewish cases within each class and the absence of any Jewish cases in Class V, the analysis of variance method used is that described by George W. Snedecor, *Statistical Methods*, Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1946, pp. 289-290. This method takes into account disproportionate numbers and requires subtraction of one degree of freedom for the cell with no entry.

TABLE 4. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE PRIMARY FACTORS AFTER OBLIQUE ROTATION

Factors	Factors			
	Permissiveness in Outside Activities 1	Parental Regard for Judgment 2	Activities with Status Implications 3	Permissiveness in Age-Related Activities 4
1	1.000	-.307	.325	.499
2		1.000	-.007	-.095
3			1.000	.321
4				1.000

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TABLE 5. MEAN OF SCALE SCORES FOR ITALIAN AND JEWISH ADOLESCENTS FOR EACH DIMENSION OF INDEPENDENCE BY SOCIAL CLASS

Social Class	Permissiveness in Outside Activities			Parental Regard for Judgment			Activities with Status Implications			Permissiveness in Age-Related Activities			N	
	Ital.	Jews	\bar{Y}	Ital.	Jews	\bar{Y}	Ital.	Jews	\bar{Y}	Ital.	Jews	\bar{Y}	Ital.	Jews
I and II	80	97	95	137	119	120	134	104	106	89	88	88	2	23
III	103	97	99	113	117	116	101	115	111	92	91	91	17	37
IV	102	90	101	88	107	89	103	102	103	106	96	105	110	7
V	110	—	110	95	—	95	105	—	105	120	—	120	48	—
\bar{X}	104	96		93	117		104	110		108	91		177	67
F between ethnics df 1,236	.80			.47			.59			.35				
F between classes df 3,236	1.09			1.73			.37			5.06*				

* Indicates a statistically significant difference, $p < .05$.

Table 5 presents the mean scores for Italians and Jews by social class for each of the scales.¹⁷ No statistically significant differences (at the .05 level) are found between Italian and Jewish adolescents when social class is held constant for any of the four dimensions of independence. Interaction, when tested, was not significant.

It is interesting to note, however, that when a simple t-test is used to compare the means for Italians and Jews on each dimension and social class is not controlled, Jewish boys have significantly higher scores ($P < .05$) on Parental Regard for Judgment and Italian boys are higher on Permissiveness in Age-Related Activities.

Thus, differences exist between the two ethnic groups (using t-test) with regard to two dimensions of independence but the differences do not exist when social class is controlled. The differential social class distribution of the two groups accounts for this result. It appears, then, that both groups have become assimilated into the class cultures of American society, corroborating Davis' hypothesis that "class cultures are (so strong) that they tend to obliterate differences in the national cultures of foreign-

born white groups in this country."¹⁸ To say that there are no cultural differences between the two groups would, however, be erroneous. The differential class distribution of Italians and Jews undoubtedly reflects differences in their cultural backgrounds that operated to produce greater class achievement for Jews. The investigation of such factors is another research problem but the present findings suggest that independence from parental control does not distinguish the two groups. It is probably not capable of explaining the continuation of differences in social class achievement if the Jewish boys follow their fathers' pattern and outstrip Italian boys in class achievement.

SOCIAL CLASSES

The second hypothesis to be tested was stated in the null form: There are no differences between social classes with regard to the degree of independence from parental control granted the adolescent boy.

This hypothesis was tested using all cases, Italian, Jewish and Other Ethnic. The category Other Ethnic was not analyzed by specific ethnic background of the subjects.¹⁹

¹⁸ Allison Davis, "Socialization and Adolescent Personality," in Guy E. Swanson, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley (Editors), *Readings in Social Psychology*, New York: Henry Holt, 1952, p. 522.

¹⁹ Since ethnic background was not determined, cases of mixed ethnic marriages involving persons other than Jews or Italians, are included. Other controls are similar.

¹⁷ Although it would be desirable in the interests of reliability to have more items included in each of the factors, given the design of the research this was not possible. Caution should be exercised in interpreting the results of the F tests reported below since individual scale scores for each factor are based on only a few items.

The analysis of variance, single variable of classification was used to test the differences between social classes. Once again, four separate tests were made, one for each dimension of independence.

Table 6 presents the mean scores for each social class for each scale measuring the dimensions of independence. Significant differences are observed as follows: the *lower* social classes have *higher* scores on Permissiveness in Outside Activities (Factor 1) and Permissiveness in Age-Related Activities (Factor 4). For both of these dimensions there is a gradual progression from low to high mean scores. The *higher* social classes have significantly *higher* scores on Parental Regard for Judgment (Factor 2).

It is of importance to note that the analysis of variance tests based on data in Table 5 comparing social classes while controlling for Italian and Jewish ethnic background reveal no significant differences for any of the dimensions of independence except Permissiveness in Age-Related Activities. When ethnic groups are combined and ethnicity is not controlled, differences between social classes then appear for Permissiveness in Outside Activities and Parental Regard for Judgment as well as for Permissiveness in Age-Related Activities. This finding suggests that comparisons of social classes based on only two ethnic groups, which differ as greatly as do the ones studied here, are not reliable indicators of the true range of class differences in the total population. In addition, it is indicated that ethnic com-

parisons must always take into account class differences.

Although the findings from research on adolescents have been inconclusive, the present findings with regard to social classes do seem to be comparable to the conclusions of many studies of child rearing practices.²⁰ Such studies have found that the middle classes are more positively concerned with fostering independence in their children but are less permissive than lower-class parents. They expect the child to assume responsibilities at an earlier age than do lower-class parents. Life in lower-class families, on the other hand, is reportedly "less strictly organized and fewer demands are made upon (the children)," according to Ericson.²¹ Our findings show that the less rigid standards in the lower classes lead to a greater independence, that is, the adolescent boy scores higher on Permissiveness in Outside Activities and Permissiveness in Age-Related Activities. These dimensions of independence seem to reflect the relaxation of controls rather than a positive training for independence.

The lower amount of independence granted by middle-class families in these two dimensions seems to reflect their deliberate attempts to socialize anxiety²² into the adolescent. The maintenance of supervision and the withdrawal of approval serve to make the adolescent more aware of the importance of "proper" behavior, i.e. conformity to class standards. In addition, discussing family problems, explaining the reasons for parental commands, and asking for his opinion (items included in Parental Regard for Judgment), may also be instrumental in socializing anxiety. By encouraging, listening to and respecting the son's opinions in discussions

TABLE 6. MEAN OF SCALE SCORES FOR ALL ETHNICS COMBINED FOR EACH DIMENSION OF INDEPENDENCE BY SOCIAL CLASS

Social Class	Permissiveness in Outside Activities	Parental Regard for Judgment	Activities with Status Implications	Permissiveness in Age-Related Activities	N †
I and II	90	121	102	86	65
III	98	112	104	92	111
IV	100	91	97	103	224
V	108	94	104	118	61
F between classes df 3,457	4.21*	9.51*	1.06	16.89*	461

* Indicates a statistically significant difference, $p < .05$.

† A total of 15 cases of unknown social class, 1 Jewish, 5 Italian, and 9 Other Ethnics, are omitted from analysis.

²⁰ Allison Davis and Robert Havighurst, "Social Class and Color Differences in Child Rearing," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (December, 1946) pp. 698-710; Davis, "Socialization and Adolescent Personality," *op cit.*, pp. 520-531; Martha C. Ericson, "Social Status and Child Rearing Practices," in Theodore Newcomb and Eugene L. Hartley, (Eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology*, New York: Henry Holt, 1947, pp. 494-501; and Arnold Green, "The Middle Class Male Child and Neurosis," *American Sociological Review*, 11 (February, 1946), pp. 31-41.

²¹ Ericson, *op cit.*, p. 501.

²² Davis, "Socialization and Adolescent Personality," *op cit.*, describes this process.

parents not only have the opportunity to establish rules of conduct but also to test and check the degree of acceptance of these standards by the son. The higher scores on Parental Regard for Judgment in the middle classes may indicate that the adolescent son has become sufficiently socialized to be able to discuss the pros and cons of various decisions with his parents even though the relaxation of controls over his behavior has not yet occurred to the same extent that it has in the lower classes. Parental Regard for Judgment is part of the training for independence and provides continuing opportunities for the parents to establish and reinforce rules of conduct. It is perhaps this dimension of independence that is referred to when it is noted that the middle classes train for independence.

An additional interpretation is that family discussions serve the function of inducing greater conformity to family norms. In discussions the son has a chance to voice his opinions and to test his ideas *vis-à-vis* those of his parents. After discussions are concluded, greater conformity (i.e. less permissiveness) may result in that the son, by sharing in the decision, has incorporated it as his own and is more willing to abide by it.

An analogous process has been observed in small group studies. Given the existence of democratic values in our society, an effective method of motivating conformity in individuals is to provide them with the opportunity to participate in decisions concerning their activities. The group dynamics and the human relations in industry approaches stress the idea that high member participation in decision making leads to high morale and greater conformity to group norms by individual members.²³

The present finding may thus be a specific case of a more general group process. The

group in this case is the family and not a work group or laboratory group. High participation on the part of the members, especially the son, leads to greater conformity to family norms. The price for high "independence" in the sense of inclusion in family decisions is having to abide by those family decisions, which may then result in low "independence" in the sense of less permissiveness.

One suggestion that can be made on the basis of the interpretations advanced here is that a revision of the concept of independence is indicated. Independence may involve either permissiveness stemming from few controls being exerted over a person's behavior—or responsibility. Responsibility refers to the individual's inclusion in the decision making process. These two aspects of independence may be negatively correlated in the area of adolescent-parent relationships and either, but perhaps not both, should be used as a measure of "independence from parental control."

SUMMARY

A questionnaire was used to obtain information from a sample of adolescent boys in the New Haven high schools. The Southern Italian and Eastern European Jewish ethnic groups were selected for study.

Factor analysis of 19 questionnaire items revealed four dimensions of the variable independence from parental control, which were not all positively intercorrelated.

When social class was controlled, no significant differences between the scores of Italian and Jewish adolescents on any of the dimensions of independence were observed.

When social classes were compared, adding other ethnic groups to the comparison, significant differences were observed for three of the four dimensions of independence. Lower class families appear to be more permissive as evidenced by the adolescents' higher scores on Permissiveness in Outside Activities and Permissiveness in Age-Related Activities. Adolescents in the middle classes score higher on Parental Regard for Judgment but are nevertheless carefully supervised in other activities.

²³ Representative of this approach are Ronald Lippitt, *Training in Community Relations*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949; Kurt Lewin, "Group Decision and Social Change," in Swanson, Newcomb and Hartley, *op. cit.*, pp. 459-473; and Lester Coch and John R. P. French, "Overcoming Resistance to Change," *Human Relations*, 1 (August, 1948), pp. 512-532.

SALES SUCCESS AND JOB SATISFACTION *

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IT seems to be accepted as a matter of great faith in contemporary industrial-relations theory, research, and applied activity that employee efficiency is directly related to job satisfaction, although the relationship between the two is not perfect, to be sure. There is, of course, considerable empirical evidence to merit such faith.¹ It is the intent of this paper to shed light on this relationship in terms of additional empirical findings.

This paper describes a follow-up scale analysis performed in conjunction with an attitude survey of the sales personnel of a large candy company. The original study entailed a gross statistical analysis of the various components of job satisfaction, as indicated by the responses of the sales organization to a mailed questionnaire, particularly as the responses were related to relevant status characteristics of the respondents. In all, 1123 questionnaires, out of an original total of slightly in excess of 1600, were received by the investigators.

The company furnished the investigators with sales "ratings" of its truck, or route, salesmen, all of whom worked on a direct-commission basis. These ratings, based upon mean weekly sales, classified the salesmen as "superior," "excellent," "average," "below average," or "poor." The delineations were not entirely satisfactory as indices of sales efficiency, since an individual salesman might have been working at or near maximum efficiency but in a territory of limited economic potential, resulting in a rating of "average" or below. However, these were the only available efficiency ratings, and there was evidence to indicate that such exceptions were

few in number. Excluding supervisors and special salesmen, a total of 805 salesmen were classified in this fashion, with 196 qualifying as "superior," 200 as "excellent," 104 as "average," 196 as "below average," and 109 as "poor."

The questionnaire items considered to be reflective of job satisfaction, together with their percentage breakdowns by efficiency rating, are presented in Table 1. The responses of the 805 salesmen to questions 1, 3, 7, 9, 11, and 13 seemed to indicate that "average" salesmen exhibited slightly greater job satisfaction than did those salesmen rated above and below them. As is well known, however, crude statistical analyses of this sort are susceptible of considerable unreliability. Therefore, it was deemed advisable to use a more refined analytical technique in order to ascertain whether "average" salesmen of this concern were significantly more satisfied with their positions. The responses of a randomly selected sample of 100 such employees were arbitrarily scored and placed upon a scalogram board.² If the criterion of 90 per cent reproducibility were used for including an individual question in the scale,³ none of the thirteen questions could be included. A visual inspection of the board indicated that a number of questions had an inconsistent pattern of responses for high- and low-ranked respondents. These items were eliminated from the board, leaving seven questions. After rescoring and re-ranking, visual patterns of reproducibility immediately developed. However, the reproducibility of the individual questions remain-

* Acknowledgement is made to the Council on Research and Creative Work at the University of Colorado for financial assistance in the completion of this research.

¹ For a summary of the published research on this subject, see Arthur H. Brayfield and Walter H. Crockett, "Employee Attitudes and Employee Performance," *Psychological Bulletin*, 52, (September, 1955), pp. 396-428.

² For a detailed description of such a board, see S. Stouffer, et al., *Measurement and Prediction*, Vol. 4, in *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 91-121.

³ For a comprehensive discussion of the concept of "reproducibility" in scale analysis, as well as a complete description of scale analysis, see M. W. Riley, J. W. Riley, Jr., and J. Toby, *Sociological Studies in Scale Analysis*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1954.

TABLE 1. RESPONSES BY EFFICIENCY OF GROUPS OF SALESMEN, IN PERCENTAGES *

1. How do you feel when you tell people that you work for the "X" Company?					7. If you were starting all over again, would you still go to work for the "X" Company?							
	Proud	Good	It's just a place to work	No response		Yes	No	Undecided	No response			
Superior	56.8	36.9	6.3	0.0	Superior	63.6	13.6	22.5	.3			
Excellent	58.6	31.9	9.2	.3	Excellent	60.6	14.7	23.1	1.6			
Average	71.9	22.9	4.7	.5	Average	68.8	9.4	20.3	1.5			
Below average	51.0	39.8	8.4	.8	Below average	57.8	19.1	20.7	2.4			
Poor	58.5	32.0	8.8	.7	Poor	58.5	12.9	26.5	2.1			
2. How well does the "X" Company keep you informed on matters affecting your work?					8. How do you feel about the arrangements provided by the Company for the operation of your vehicle?							
	Always keeps me informed	Usually keeps me informed	Sometimes keeps me informed	Seldom keeps me informed	No response		Quite satisfied	Mod-erately sat-isfied	Some-what dis-satisfied	Strongly dis-satisfied	No re-sponse	
Superior	55.9	32.2	9.7	2.2	0.0	Superior	37.3	29.2	16.1	8.1	9.3	
Excellent	47.8	41.8	8.4	1.2	.8	Excellent	35.5	22.7	21.8	11.2	8.8	
Average	57.3	35.9	6.8	0.0	0.0	Average	35.4	18.3	15.6	7.8	22.9	
Below average	57.4	31.5	8.7	1.2	1.2	Below average	42.6	17.5	19.2	7.2	13.5	
Poor	61.9	29.3	7.5	1.3	0.0	Poor	36.7	27.2	16.3	7.5	12.3	
3. How interested do you feel that the "X" Company is in its sales personnel?					9. How well does your immediate superior explain the policies and operations of the Company to you?							
	Very in-terested	Fairly in-terested	Interest about average	Not es-pecially in-terested	No re-sponse		Carefully and thoroughly	Mod-erately well	Inade-quately	No re-sponse		
Superior	46.2	25.0	17.8	11.0	0.0	Superior	54.2	39.8	4.7	1.3		
Excellent	47.0	23.5	19.9	9.6	0.0	Excellent	51.4	39.8	7.2	1.6		
Average	65.1	12.5	14.6	7.3	.5	Average	59.9	31.8	5.7	2.6		
Below average	45.4	15.9	25.1	12.4	1.2	Below average	58.6	33.5	6.8	1.1		
Poor	40.8	21.1	23.8	13.6	.7	Poor	56.5	36.7	4.1	2.7		
4. Do you ever receive confusing or conflicting orders and information from persons above you in the Company?					10. How often does he (superior) keep you informed of the progress you are making on your job?							
	Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Fre-quently	No re-sponse		Fre-quently	Usu-ally	Some-times	Rarely	Never	No re-sponse
Superior	31.8	33.5	31.8	2.9	0.0	Superior	47.0	21.2	19.5	7.6	2.5	2.2
Excellent	34.3	30.3	31.5	3.9	0.0	Excellent	47.4	13.8	20.0	12.4	4.4	2.0
Average	31.3	34.4	29.2	5.1	0.0	Average	50.5	18.2	15.6	7.8	4.2	3.7
Below average	33.9	33.1	27.0	4.8	1.2	Below average	48.2	20.3	13.5	9.6	6.4	2.0
Poor	41.4	28.6	27.2	1.4	1.4	Poor	46.9	24.5	11.6	8.2	5.4	3.4
5. How fairly do you think the "X" Company chooses its men for promotion to a better job?					11. How well does he (superior) explain your duties and responsibilities?							
	Unfairly in general	Some-times fairly	Usually pro-motes fairly	Very fairly	No re-sponse		Carefully and thoroughly	Mod-erately well	Inade-quately	No re-sponse		
Superior	3.0	11.4	50.4	28.4	6.8	Superior	61.4	32.2	3.8	2.6		
Excellent	4.8	10.3	54.2	21.5	9.2	Excellent	53.8	40.2	2.8	3.2		
Average	5.7	8.9	48.4	30.2	6.8	Average	68.2	26.6	2.6	2.6		
Below average	2.8	10.4	48.6	29.9	8.3	Below average	61.4	31.1	5.6	1.9		
Poor	1.4	6.1	46.9	32.0	13.6	Poor	60.0	34.7	3.3	2.0		
6. How would you estimate your chances for advancement in the Company?					12. How well does he (superior) listen to, and use, your ideas and suggestions?							
	Excellent	Good	Moderate	Limited	No re-sponse		Very well	Mod-erately Well	Rarely	Never	No re-sponse	
Superior	14.4	32.6	29.7	21.6	1.7	Superior	45.3	33.1	11.4	6.4	3.8	
Excellent	9.6	24.3	31.5	31.5	3.1	Excellent	40.6	35.1	14.7	5.6	4.0	
Average	10.9	39.6	27.1	20.3	2.1	Average	47.4	35.9	7.3	4.7	4.7	
Below average	8.0	23.8	30.7	32.7	4.8	Below average	49.0	32.2	9.6	5.2	4.0	
Poor	7.5	23.8	34.0	29.9	4.8	Poor	42.2	34.0	12.2	5.4	6.2	
13. Do you feel that your superior is interested in you as a person, or merely as another "X" employee?												
	As a person	Just another person	employee	Undecided	No response		As a person	Just another person	employee	Undecided	No response	
Superior	59.3	31.4	7.6	1.7		Superior	59.3	31.4	7.6	1.7		
Excellent	57.4	32.7	9.2	.7		Excellent	57.4	32.7	9.2	.7		
Average	64.6	25.0	7.8	2.6		Average	64.6	25.0	7.8	2.6		
Below average	58.6	31.1	8.0	2.3		Below average	58.6	31.1	8.0	2.3		
Poor	59.9	25.2	11.6	3.3		Poor	59.9	25.2	11.6	3.3		

* Number of salesmen in each group: Superior, 196; Excellent, 200; Average, 104; Below Average, 196; Poor, 109.

TABLE 2. JOB SATISFACTION BREAKDOWN BY EACH EFFICIENCY RATING

Score	Superior	Excellent	Average	Below Average	Poor	Total
5	18	14	10	16	11	69
6	24	33	10	19	10	96
7	27	40	10	33	17	127
8	38	50	26	56	27	197
9	36	43	30	42	30	181
10	53	20	18	30	14	135
Total	196	200	104	196	109	805

$\chi^2 = 39.26$; DF = 20. Significant beyond the .01 level.

ing was, in all cases, substantially below the criterion of 90 per cent reproducibility. At this juncture, the response categories under all questions were combined so as to provide dichotomous categories for each question, one category indicating negative job satisfaction, and the other indicating positive job satisfaction. The seven questions were then rescored, five of which were then more than 90 per cent reproducible, so that a scale was ultimately achieved based upon five questions, each containing dichotomous response categories.

Each question measured a somewhat different intensity of job satisfaction, in that it contained a different numerical response pattern, compared to the other four questions. However, it was possible to rank the questions in a continuum, so that the question at the top of the continuum was the "easiest" to answer favorably, the question at the bottom was the "hardest" to answer favorably, and there were appropriate gradations for the other three questions. The questions and their percentages of reproducibility, scaled and arranged in such a continuum, are presented below:

Question	Per Cent of Reproducibility
10. How often does he (your supervisor) keep you informed of the progress you are making on your job?	96
12. How well does he listen to, and use, your ideas and suggestions?	97
13. Do you feel that he is interested in you as a person, or merely as another "X" employee?	94
7. If you were starting all over again, would you still go to work for the "X" Company?	94
6. How would you estimate your chances for advancement in the Company?	93

The Coefficient of Reproducibility⁴ for the above set of questions, defined as

$$1 - \frac{\text{number of errors}}{\text{no. of quest.} \times \text{no. of respond.}} = 1 - \frac{26}{500} = .95.$$

This value is well above Guttman's lower limit for scalability (.90).⁵ However, due to an insufficient number of answer categories, the reliability of the scale was still in question. Consequently, a Coefficient of Chance Reproducibility⁶ was calculated. Chance reproducibility was 86 per cent, as contrasted with 95 per cent actual reproducibility. Total error by chance was 69, while the actual total error for the scale was only 26. Thus, the sample data as shown here appear to meet the scale criteria.

Each of the 805 route salesmen was assigned one point for a "negative" question response and two points for a "positive" response, so that a total score of five would indicate minimum job satisfaction, whereas a score of ten would represent maximum satisfaction. The bivariate distribution of scores derived in this fashion indicated a totally different pattern of responses than did the crude or gross breakdowns. "Superior" salesmen exhibit significantly higher job satisfaction than do salesmen having lower efficiency ratings. The Chi-square yield for this contingency distribution was 39.26, which, with 20 degrees of freedom, is significant beyond the .01 level of statistical significance. (See Table 2). It is of interest that the cell in the lower left-hand corner of Table 2, containing "superior" salesmen exhibiting maximum job satisfaction, contributed 12.33 to the total Chi-square value. Tables 3 and 4, depicting different cell combinations, merely reinforce the conclusion that "superior" sales-

⁴ Stouffer, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-80.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁶ Riley, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 317-320.

men were something of a "breed apart" from the remainder of the route salesmen.

Conclusion. The striking contrast between the initial breakdowns and the final scaled response-patterns provides a graphic illustration of the utility of scale analysis as an internal measure of reliability. Preliminary observations, that "average" route salesmen of the "X" Candy Company tended to exhibit slightly greater job satisfaction than did those salesmen both with higher and lower sales ratings, were substantially negated and modified through scale analysis. It should be

TABLE 4. JOB SATISFACTION BREAKDOWN—"SUPERIOR" SALESMEN CONTRASTED TO "ALL OTHERS"

Score	Superior	All Others	Total
5	18	51	69
6	24	72	96
7	27	100	127
8	38	159	197
9	36	145	181
10	53	82	135
Total	196	609	805

$\chi^2 = 21.81$; DF = 5. Significant beyond the .01 level.

TABLE 3. JOB SATISFACTION BREAKDOWN—"AVERAGE AND ABOVE" SALESMEN CONTRASTED TO "BELOW AVERAGE AND POOR"

Score	Average and Above	Below Average and Poor	Total
5	32	37	69
6	57	39	96
7	67	60	127
8	88	109	197
9	79	102	181
10	73	62	135
Total	396	409	805

$\chi^2 = 9.97$; DF = 5. Significant at less than the .09 level.

emphasized that the scaled response-patterns did not indicate the existence of a linear relationship between sales success and job satisfaction for the population in question, but only that the most successful route salesmen of this concern were significantly more satisfied with their employment situation than were the remainder of the route salesmen. It is conceivable that the direct commission arrangement, under which all route salesmen operated, provided a greater efficiency incentive for the "superior" salesmen, and thus was indirectly responsible for their higher job satisfaction.

SUBURBANIZATION OF RETAIL TRADE IN THE STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREAS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1948-54 *

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ONE of the most momentous population trends in this country is the increasing concentration of people in the standard metropolitan areas (S.M.A.'s). Not only do nearly 60 per cent of our people live in the 168 S.M.A.'s, but the population of these areas is increasing at a much more rapid rate than the rest of the United States. Between April, 1950 and April, 1955, the population in the 168 S.M.A.'s increased 13.7 per cent, whereas the nonmetropolitan areas gained only 0.5 per cent.¹

* Approved by the Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station.

¹ U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, "Civilian Population of the United States,

Significantly, the greatest population shifts into the metropolitan areas are to the suburbs rather than to the central cities. This suburban sprawl, or "scatteration," has accelerated since World War II and is expanding the huge metropolitan areas, or "conurbations," farther and farther out into the rural hinterlands. Constellations of satellite communities encircle the large core cities. During 1950-55, the suburban populations increased more than seven times as fast, proportionately, as the central cities. In fact, over 80 per cent of the population growth

by Type of Residence, April 1955 and 1950," *Current Population Reports, Population Characteristics*, Series P-20, No. 63, Nov. 1955.

TABLE 1. RETAIL TRADE BY METROPOLITAN AND NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS, 1948-54 *

Area	Total Establishments			Total Sales, All Establishments, Adjusted for Change in Price Level †		
	Number (Thousands)		Per Cent Change, 1948-54	Retail Sales (Billions of Dollars)		Per Cent Change, 1948-54
	1948	1954		1948	1954	
United States	1,668.5	1,721.7	3.2	128.8	157.1	21.9
S.M.A.'s	906.9	948.8	4.6	81.5	100.9	23.8
Central cities	583.5	606.7	4.0	58.7	67.9	15.8
Balance of area	323.5	342.1	5.8	22.9	32.9	44.1
Cities—50,000 or more pop.‡	50.9	51.5	1.2	4.5	5.7	25.2
Remainder of Area	272.5	290.6	6.6	18.3	27.3	48.7
Outside S.M.A.'s §	761.6	772.9	1.5	47.3	56.2	18.7

* The number of establishments and sales do not necessarily add to totals because of rounding.

† The indexes of the retail prices of all commodities, with the 1935-39 base=100, were 192.7 in 1948 and 208.5 in 1954. By multiplying the 1954 retail sales data by .924, the 1954 figures were adjusted to reflect the 1948 price level as=100. Source: *The Economic Almanac, 1956*, Frederick W. Jones, Editor, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1956, p. 75.

‡ These cities of 50,000 or more population are the 53 noncentral cities located in 15 of the S.M.A.'s.

§ Nonmetropolitan area data obtained by subtracting standard metropolitan figures from the United States total.

Source: *Retail Trade, United States Summary—Advance Report*, Bulletin R-1-1 Advance, 1954 *Census of Business*, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1956, p. 5; and *Retail Trade State Bulletins R-1*, 1954 *Census of Business*, Tables 102, 102A, 103, and 103A.

for the entire nation during this five-year period occurred in the metropolitan areas outside the central cities. Of the 84.5 million people living in the 168 S.M.A.'s in 1950, 35 million, or 42 per cent, resided in the peripheral areas of the central cities; and, in 1955, 46 per cent of all residents of the metropolitan areas lived in the surrounding suburban areas of the central cities.

The three objectives of this study are: *First*, to measure the differential changes in retail trade between the S.M.A.'s and the nonmetropolitan areas in the United States during 1948-54; *second*, to determine the relative changes in retail trade separately for the central cities and for the outlying areas of the S.M.A.'s; and *third*, to ascertain the relationship between central city-size and regional location and changes in retail trade in the S.M.A.'s.

The data analyzed in this paper were obtained from the 1954 Census of Business Retail Trade bulletins.² The two measures of retail trade activity used are the numbers

of establishments and value of sales. The revised 1948 data on these two measures are used in this study because they are comparable with those of 1954. It was necessary to standardize the sales to a common price index base. This was accomplished by converting the 1954 sales into 1948 dollars.

The hypothesis of this study is that *the relative increase in retail trade has been greater in the suburbs than in the central cities of the S.M.A.'s during 1948-54.*

A corresponding shift in retail trade accompanied the tremendous movement of people, especially to the suburbs of the S.M.A.'s. In 1954, the 168 S.M.A.'s contained 55 per cent of all retail businesses in the United States. Between 1948-54, the number of retail stores in these S.M.A.'s of the United States increased three times as rapidly as in other areas of the country (Table 1).³

³ Four of the S.M.A.'s reported in the 1954 Census of Business were omitted from this study—Dubuque, Iowa; Hampton-Newport News-Warwick, Virginia; Fort Smith, Arkansas; and Tucson, Arizona. Two other standard metropolitan areas, Shreveport, Louisiana and San Bernardino, California were adjusted to follow the 1950 Bureau of Census boundaries. Also, Long Beach, in Los Angeles, and Ontario and Riverside, in San Bernardino,

² *Retail Trade, 1954 Census of Business*, State Bulletins R-1, and *Retail Trade, United States Summary—Advance Report*, Bulletin R-1-1 Advance, U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1956.

TABLE 2. RETAIL TRADE ESTABLISHMENTS IN S.M.A.'s BY SIZE OF CENTRAL CITY, 1948-54*

Size of Central City †	Total Establishments in the 168 S.M.A.'s			Total Establishments in the Central Cities			Total Establishments in Balance of the S.M.A.'s		
	Number (Thousands)		Per Cent Change, 1948-54	Number (Thousands)		Per Cent Change, 1948-54	Number (Thousands)		Per Cent Change, 1948-54
	1948	1954		1948	1954		1948	1954	
Total	906.9	948.8	4.6	583.5	606.7	4.0	323.5	342.1	5.8
50,000-99,999	123.4	132.8	7.6	75.5	85.2	12.9	48.0	47.6	-.7
100,000-199,999 ‡	126.6	135.0	6.6	82.8	92.2	11.4	43.8	42.7	-2.5
200,000-299,999	49.7	55.0	10.7	32.9	37.3	13.3	16.8	17.7	5.6
300,000-399,999 ‡	46.0	50.1	9.0	32.9	36.8	12.0	13.1	13.3	1.4
400,000-499,999	36.8	41.2	11.9	28.0	31.9	13.8	8.8	9.3	5.9
500,000-749,999	79.5	82.0	3.1	48.6	51.1	5.2	30.9	30.9	-.1
750,000-1,000,000 ‡	105.8	111.5	5.3	65.5	63.8	-2.5	40.3	47.6	18.1
1,000,000+	339.1	341.3	.6	217.4	208.4	-4.1	121.8	132.9	9.1

* The numbers of establishments do not necessarily add to totals because of rounding to the nearest thousand.

† Each S.M.A. is classified by size of the largest central city. Twenty-one S.M.A.'s contain either two or three central cities.

‡ The numbers of retail trade establishments reported in the 1954 *Census of Business* for the Cincinnati, Louisville, and Youngstown S.M.A.'s were changed from 5,452 to 5,450; and the 1948 Youngs-In Cincinnati, the S.M.A. totals were changed from 9,668 in 1948 and 9,930 in 1954 to 9,670 and 9,928, respectively; the 1948 Louisville S.M.A. total was changed from 5,452 to 5,450; and the 1948 Youngstown S.M.A. total was changed from 5,202 to 5,154.

Source: *Retail Trade*, State Bulletins R-1, 1954 *Census of Business*, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1956, Tables 102, 102A, 103, and 103A.

Within the S.M.A.'s, the rate of growth was about one and one-half times as high in the outlying parts as in the 193 central cities. The greatest proportionate gain in retail outlets, 6.6 per cent, occurred in suburban areas with noncentral cities under 50,000 population. In the 53 noncentral cities of 50,000 or more population the increase in number of retail enterprises amounted to only 1.2 per cent.

As Table 1 shows, the suburbanization trend in the dollar volume of retail sales was much more pronounced than in numbers of stores during 1948-54. In terms of adjusted sales, the increase was greater in the 168 S.M.A.'s than in the nonmetropolitan areas and, while the gain in the central cities was only 15.8 per cent, that of the suburbs was 44.1 per cent, or three times as great.⁴ Again, the greatest increase in sales in the

S.M.A.'s occurred in the outlying parts having no noncentral cities with as many as 50,000 persons. This means that in the nation's major cities retail stores have followed their customers to the outlying subdivisions.

SUBURBANIZATION OF RETAIL TRADE BY SIZE OF CENTRAL CITY

Each of the eight size-groups of S.M.A.'s showed a gain in numbers of retail establishments during 1948-54 (Table 2). The smallest relative gains occurred in those S.M.A.'s containing central cities of 500,000 inhabitants and over, while the greatest proportional increases came in those with central cities of 400,000 to 500,000 and 200,000 to 300,000 population, in order. The only discernible growth pattern for all S.M.A.'s is a greater rate of increase for the small than for the large areas.

The five S.M.A.'s that had the greatest proportionate increases in number of retail outlets were, in order: Orlando, Florida, 47; San Jose, California, 46; Albuquerque, New Mexico, 39; Phoenix, Arizona, 35; and Lubbock, Texas, 34 per cent, all of which are in the South, Southwest, and West. The five experiencing the greatest losses were, in order: Terre Haute, Indiana, -14; Savan-

California S.M.A.'s, were not considered as central cities in order to make the data comparable with the 1950 census standard metropolitan area classifications.

⁴ Actually, these figures understate the extent of suburbanization. Some of the 193 central cities in the S.M.A.'s have annexed suburban settlements during 1948-54. This tends, therefore, to reduce the growth of retail stores in suburban areas, while exaggerating the growth in the central cities.

TABLE 3. RETAIL TRADE SALES IN S.M.A.'s BY SIZE OF CENTRAL CITY, 1948-54 *

Size of Largest Central City	Sales, Adjusted for Change in Price Level								
	Total Sales, All Establishments in the 168 S.M.A.'s			Total Sales, All Establishments in the Central Cities			Total Sales, All Establishments in the Balance of the S.M.A.'s		
	Retail Sales (Billions of Dollars)		Per Cent Change, 1948-54	Retail Sales (Billions of Dollars)		Per Cent Change, 1948-54	Retail Sales (Billions of Dollars)		Per Cent Change, 1948-54
	1948	1954		1948	1954		1948	1954	
Total	81.5	100.9	23.8	58.7	67.9	15.8	22.9	32.9	44.1
50,000-99,999 †	10.3	12.6	22.5	7.7	9.3	21.0	2.6	3.3	27.0
100,000-199,999 †	10.9	13.6	25.1	8.3	10.2	22.9	2.6	3.4	32.2
200,000-299,999	4.7	6.0	29.0	3.7	4.5	23.7	1.0	1.5	48.0
300,000-399,999 †	4.8	5.9	23.4	3.9	4.7	20.4	.9	1.2	37.0
400,000-499,999	4.0	5.2	29.7	3.4	4.3	24.1	.6	1.0	63.2
500,000-749,999 †	7.3	8.7	19.5	5.2	6.0	14.3	2.1	2.8	32.4
750,000-1,000,000	10.2	12.6	23.3	6.9	7.4	8.3	3.4	5.2	54.0
1,000,000+	29.3	36.1	23.3	19.5	21.5	10.0	9.8	14.6	49.9

* Sales do not necessarily add to totals because of rounding to the nearest billion.

† The total sales of all retail establishments reported in the 1954 *Census of Business* for the Cincinnati, Columbus (Georgia), Louisville, and Youngstown S.M.A.'s were changed to agree with county totals for each area. In Cincinnati, the S.M.A. totals were changed from \$862,622,000 in 1948 and \$1,151,383,000 in 1954 to \$862,626,000 and \$1,153,340,000, respectively. The 1948 Columbus, Georgia S.M.A. total was changed from \$106,389,000 to \$106,377,000; the 1948 Louisville S.M.A. total was changed from \$509,392,000 to \$509,389,000; and the 1948 Youngstown S.M.A. total was changed from \$461,644,000 to \$461,580,000.

Source: *Retail Trade*, State Bulletins R-1, 1954 *Census of Business*, U. S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Washington, 1956, Tables 102, 102A, 103, and 103A.

nah, Georgia, -12; Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton, Pennsylvania, -10; Laredo, Texas, -10; and Buffalo, New York, -8 per cent. They form no regional pattern.

Table 2 shows, *first*, that the suburban areas of the 168 S.M.A.'s had a relatively greater growth in numbers of retail units between 1948-54 than did the central cities. Most of the decentralization was limited to the 11 S.M.A.'s having central cities with 750,000 or more population. These accounted for 18,425, or 99 per cent, of the 18,624 increase in retail units outside central cities. *Second*, in the S.M.A.'s with central cities under 750,000 population, the increase in retail establishments was relatively greater in central cities than in adjacent suburbs. *Third*, retail stores multiplied relatively more rapidly in central cities below than in those above 500,000 in population.

Since retail enterprises vary considerably in size, the dollar value of sales is a more suitable measure of volume of retail trade

activity than the number of businesses.⁵ The dollar increase in retail business receipts in the S.M.A.'s was over twice as high in suburbs as in central cities. When the 1954 sales are expressed in terms of 1948 consumer dollars, the differential gain of retail receipts is 2.8 times as high in suburban areas as in central cities (Table 3).

The proportionate increase in retail sales was higher in the suburban areas than in the central cities in all eight S.M.A.'s size-groups. This differential is especially marked in the two largest S.M.A. size-groups. Suburban growth rates of adjusted sales were 6.5 times as great as those of central cities

⁵ One review of this paper suggested that relatively greater emphasis should be given the "sales" findings than to the "number" of establishments because sales appear to provide a much more exact measure of business activity than do counts of establishments. Both measures of retail trade are, however, desirable because the study proposes to ascertain relationships between central-city size, geographic location, and changes in numbers of stores as well as sales volume.

TABLE 4. RETAIL TRADE ESTABLISHMENTS IN S.M.A.'s BY CENSUS DIVISIONS, 1948-54 *

Census Division †	Total Establishments in the 168 S.M.A.'s			Total Establishments in the Central Cities			Total Establishments in Balance of the S.M.A.'s		
	Number (Thousands)		Per Cent Change, 1948-54	Number (Thousands)		Per Cent Change, 1948-54	Number (Thousands)		Per Cent Change, 1948-54
	1948	1954		1948	1954		1948	1954	
Total	906.9	948.8	4.6	583.5	606.7	4.0	323.5	342.1	5.8
New England	67.7	70.3	3.8	38.7	38.1	-1.6	29.0	32.2	11.0
Middle Atlantic	302.4	298.4	-1.3	183.4	176.2	-3.9	119.1	122.2	2.6
E.N. Central	194.2	199.9	2.9	131.7	133.2	1.1	62.4	66.7	6.8
W.N. Central	53.4	56.5	5.9	39.3	41.4	5.3	14.1	15.1	7.6
S. Atlantic	80.6	89.8	11.5	55.5	63.4	14.2	25.1	26.4	5.4
E.S. Central	30.0	31.5	5.0	20.5	22.8	11.0	9.5	8.7	-8.1
W.S. Central	54.3	61.7	13.7	43.6	52.5	20.4	10.7	9.3	-13.5
Mountain	13.8	16.8	21.7	9.8	12.2	25.0	4.1	4.6	13.8
Pacific	110.5	123.9	12.1	61.0	67.1	10.0	49.6	56.8	14.6

* The numbers of establishments do not necessarily add to totals because of rounding to the nearest thousand.

† Eleven S.M.A.'s overlap into two or more census divisions. Each of the 11 S.M.A.'s has been divided and assigned to its respective census division.

of 750,000 to 1,000,000 population in the six S.M.A.'s of this class and were 5.0 times as great as in central cities of 1,000,000 and over in the five S.M.A.'s of that size (Table 3).

The greatest suburban increase in retail sales occurred in the S.M.A.'s with central cities between 400,000-500,000 population, followed, in order, by the S.M.A.'s having central cities with populations of 750,000-1,000,000, and of 1,000,000 and over. Retail trade grew relatively more rapidly in central cities below than in those above 500,000 inhabitants. With this one exception, change in retail sales bears no relationship to central city size whether in the total S.M.A. or in the suburban area.

The five S.M.A.'s having the greatest relative growth in retail sales during this period, in terms of adjusted dollar values, were, in order: Orlando, Florida, 87 per cent; Augusta, Georgia, 70; Albuquerque, New Mexico, 68; Flint, Michigan, 60; and Miami, Florida, 58 per cent. The five showing the lowest relative gains were, in order: Wilkes-Barre-Hazleton, Pennsylvania, -4.5; Johnstown, Pennsylvania, -.5; Altoona, Pennsylvania, .4; Lawrence, Massachusetts, .4; and Galveston, Texas, .7 per cent.

SUBURBANIZATION OF RETAIL TRADE BY CENSUS DIVISION

During 1948-54, the number of retail businesses in the S.M.A.'s increased in eight

of the nine census divisions (Table 4). The Mountain Division had the greatest relative growth, followed, in order, by the W.S. Central, Pacific, and South Atlantic Divisions. The Middle Atlantic Division was the only one to experience a decline. With the exception of the E.S. Central Division, the four highly industrial northern and northeastern divisions were the slowest-growing areas.

Table 4 shows three principal movements. *First*, the growth in numbers of retail stores was proportionately greater in the suburban areas than in the central cities of the New England, Middle Atlantic, E.N. Central, W.N. Central, and Pacific Divisions. In all four divisions of the North and Northeast, where most of the older metropolitan areas are located, suburban growth surpassed that of the central cities. *Second*, in the S. Atlantic, E.S. Central, W.S. Central, and Mountain Divisions, the percentage increase in retail businesses in the central cities exceeded that of the outlying areas. *Third*, the most extensive suburbanization of retail units occurred in the Pacific, Mountain, and New England Divisions, while the E.S. Central

* With few exceptions, the metropolitan cities in the South and Southwest had the greatest annexations of suburbs during 1948-54. The great expansion of the corporate limits in these areas accounts for much of the increase in retail trade in central cities and the relatively small increase in the suburbs.

and W.S. Central Divisions were the only two sustaining losses.

The percentage increase in retail sales was greater in the suburbs than in the central cities in each of the nine divisions (Table 5). A differential suburban-central city growth especially marks the four northern and northeastern divisions. In the Middle Atlantic and W.N. Central Divisions, the increase in adjusted retail receipts was about five times as high in the suburban areas as in the central cities; and, in the New England and E.N. Central Divisions, the rate of gain in sales was three times as rapid in the suburbs as in the central cities. Only in the W.S. Central Division did the increase in retail sales in the central cities even approach that of the area surrounding them.

Table 5 also shows that the most diffuse suburbanization of retail trade between 1948-54 occurred in the South Atlantic and Mountain Divisions, and the least in the W.S. Central and E.S. Central Divisions.

The foregoing findings partially sustain the hypothesis of the study and lay the ground for its extension through further research. While the findings on sales volume substantiate the hypothesis, those on numbers of establishments do not.

SUMMARY

This study has shown:

First, that the relative growth in retail trade activity, both numbers of stores and value of sales, has been greater in the S.M.A.'s than in the nonmetropolitan areas of the U. S. during 1948-54. Nevertheless, suburbanization proceeded beyond the S.M.A.'s showing an 18.7 per cent increase in retail sales during 1948-54 in spite of a population growth of only 0.5 per cent between 1950 and 1955.

Second, that within the 168 S.M.A.'s, the greatest increases in retail trade have occurred in the suburban areas rather than in central cities. Furthermore, the greatest increase in suburban areas has taken place outside the 53 noncentral cities with 50,000 or more population.

Third, practically all of the increase in the number of suburban retail stores occurred in the 11 S.M.A.'s having central cities of 750,000 or more population; the growth in retail businesses in the S.M.A.'s with central cities under 750,000 population was relatively greater in the central cities than in the outlying areas.

Fourth, the rate of gain in retail sales was greater in the suburban areas than in the central cities in each of the eight size-

TABLE 5. RETAIL TRADE SALES IN S.M.A.'s BY CENSUS DIVISIONS, 1948-54 *

Census Division	Sales, Adjusted for Change in Price Level								
	Total Sales, All Establishments in the 168 S.M.A.'s			Total Sales, All Establishments in the Central Cities			Total Sales, All Establishments in the Balance of the S.M.A.'s		
	Retail Sales (Billions of Dollars)		Per Cent Change, 1948-54	Retail Sales (Billions of Dollars)		Per Cent Change, 1948-54	Retail Sales (Billions of Dollars)		Per Cent Change, 1948-54
	1948	1954		1948	1954		1948	1954	
Total	81.5	100.9	23.8	58.7	67.9	15.8	22.9	32.9	44.1
New England	5.7	7.0	23.0	3.6	4.0	12.7	2.1	3.0	40.6
Middle Atlantic	23.3	27.3	17.4	15.3	16.4	7.2	8.0	11.0	36.7
E.N. Central	19.1	23.4	22.2	14.3	16.3	14.1	4.8	7.1	45.9
W.N. Central	5.5	6.5	18.7	4.5	5.1	11.6	.9	1.4	53.1
S. Atlantic	7.7	10.1	31.4	6.2	7.6	23.2	1.5	2.5	64.2
E.S. Central	2.8	3.5	23.4	2.3	2.8	20.9	.5	.7	35.1
W.S. Central	5.2	6.9	32.8	4.6	6.2	32.5	.5	.7	35.0
Mountain	1.4	2.0	38.7	1.2	1.6	33.7	.3	.4	62.0
Pacific	10.8	14.2	31.5	6.6	8.0	20.3	4.2	6.2	49.5

* Sales do not necessarily add to totals because of rounding to the nearest billion.

groups, and is especially pronounced in the S.M.A.'s with central cities of 750,000 or more population. However, there is no relationship between size of central city and change in suburban retail sales.

Fifth, retail trade increased relatively more rapidly in central cities below than in those above 500,000 inhabitants.

Sixth, the central cities in the New England, Middle Atlantic, E.N. Central, and W.N. Central Divisions had the smallest rates of growth in retail sales and stores of central cities in all nine divisions. Of the five divisions that had increases in central-city retail trade, those in the Mountain and the W.S. Central Divisions ranked considerably above the others.

Seventh, the increase in numbers of establishments was relatively greater in the suburban areas than in the central cities of the New England, Middle Atlantic, E.N. Central, W.N. Central, and Pacific Divisions. However, the proportionate increase in numbers of stores in the central cities exceeded that of the suburbs in the S. Atlantic, E.S. Central, W.S. Central, and Mountain Divisions. The greatest decentralization of retail outlets occurred in the Pacific, Mountain, and New England Divisions.

Eighth, in each of the nine divisions the percentage increase in retail receipts in suburban areas outstripped that of the central cities. The differential suburban-central city growth is most pronounced in the four highly industrialized northern and northeastern divisions. The suburban areas in the South Atlantic and Mountain Divisions experienced the greatest proportionate growth in receipts, whereas the W.S. Central and E.S. Central Divisions had the lowest relative gains.

INFERENCES

In the light of present knowledge, the surging growth of satellite cities and small trade centers encircling large metropolitan centers will continue. Demographers forecast a sensational growth for the suburbs of S.M.A.'s between 1955 and 1975. According to the estimates, the suburbs will experience 80 per cent of the population increase in the S.M.A.'s occurring during this period.⁷

The decentralization of retail trade probably will continue. Many department stores in large cities have already found that they must establish branches in the suburbs to maintain their sales volume.

However, this does not necessarily mean the extinction of downtown shopping areas, although it may portend revolutionary changes in their methods of operation. Central business districts may be able to retain highly specialized retailing services that tend to defy decentralization. Downtown merchants are attempting to revitalize the mid-town shopping areas and are conducting concerted campaigns to recover some of their losses to suburban centers. Their promotion efforts emphasize the advantages of central over suburban locations, such as the wider assortments and price range of merchandise and more comprehensive service. While this raises conjectures only incidental to this study, they seem to offer propitious advantages for future research directed at these and related questions.

This study finds that both population and retail sales volume are increasing more rapidly in the suburbs than in the central cities of S.M.A.'s, which is a simple quantitative relationship. For future research, as more adequate and refined statistics appear, a new, but closely related, problem emerges. One may state it thus: Do suburban retail sales grow in the same proportions as satellite populations cluster around central cities? Do suburbs offer as great a variety and specialization of consumer goods and services as the downtown shopping and service centers? Apparently "ten-cent stores," grocery stores, beauty parlors, taverns, motels, cafeterias, and drug stores, along with clothing stores, follow the population drift to suburbs, but there is still a question of whether or not exclusive and highly specialized trade and services can thrive as well in suburbs as in the downtown areas. In the case of medical service, does the specialist find suburbs inviting or must he still maintain his office in the medical arts center in the central shopping district? These are problems the present study can only broach but, it seems, they invite more extensive and intensive research as new data may permit.

⁷ U. S. News and World Report, March 2, 1956, pp. 37-40.

METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE IN SUB-CENTER ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS

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THE reorganization of previously independent communities into metropolitan communities has been a dominant trend in social organization since 1900. The metropolitan community is essentially a complex meshing of functionally differentiated sub-centers organized around a dominant central city. As McKenzie, Hawley, Bogue and others have pointed out, a significant problem within the broad pattern of metropolitan development is the changes in structure and function that occur in small hinterland communities as they are absorbed by an expanding metropolitan community.¹ The absorbed small community, while undergoing reorganization, has remained an important form of social organization, but its role within the metropolitan community has not been analyzed.

The present study is an analysis of economic and other changes in a hinterland community—Linden, Michigan—that accompanied its transformation from independence in 1900 to sub-center dependence in the Flint metropolitan community by 1950. Previous research has tended to take one of two approaches: (1) analysis of the broad development of the metropolitan community without specific attention to the changes in internal organization of previously independent communities that occurred in response to pressures from the central city, or (2) analysis of the small community as a relatively closed social system. By contrast, the study reported here focuses on the internal changes in the absorbed small community and the interdependence of these changes with alterations in the larger system.

There are four general elements in the

theory of metropolitan community development:

1. Redistribution of population and functions
2. Absorption of all segments and their inhabitants into a single comprehensive organization
3. Specialization of activity in each segment of the total area
4. Reorganization within previously relatively free and stable communities as they changed to sub-communities.

In the specific instance of Flint and Linden, the data show that Linden was absorbed and that it simultaneously underwent an internal reorganization as predicted by the general theory. The analysis reported below specifies the particular changes this involved. Specifically, attention is given to the absorption process, economic organization in 1900 and 1950, changes in specific business functions, alterations in overall economic functions of the community, and the sources of change.

Data were collected by both field and library methods. Field data collection was on a selective basis from August, 1949 to July, 1951. Data for 1900 were obtained for individual businesses by repeated interviewing of about 90 informants who were 10 years of age or older in 1911 and by analyses of local records, including the volumes of the village newspaper. Data for 1950 were obtained through long term observation, a cross-section population survey, a business unit survey, and records analysis.

THE COMMUNITY

Linden² is 17 miles southwest of Flint and 60 miles northwest of Detroit. Linden was a community of approximately 2,200 population in 1900 and 4,450 in 1950. About 25 per cent (543) in 1900 and 20 per cent (933) in 1950 were village residents. Most

¹ R. D. McKenzie, *The Metropolitan Community*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933; Amos Hawley, *Human Ecology*, New York: The Ronald Press, 1950; Don J. Bogue, *The Structure of the Metropolitan Community*, Ann Arbor: Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, University of Michigan, 1949.

² "Linden" is used to refer to the community as a whole, including both the incorporated village and surrounding trade zone.

rural area residents in 1900 were farmers but in 1950 the farm population was less than 50 per cent of all trade area residents.

The boundaries of Linden expanded from 1900 to 1950 to the north, west, and south by approximately one mile, while the boundary on the east remained the same. The village setting has remained the same—among eight villages and towns of varying size located within 15 miles.

Two growth phases preceded the third phase of 1900–1950. From its founding in 1835 to about 1860, Linden was primarily a self-contained farming community. Following the introduction of the railroad in 1857, it developed as an agricultural community within a regional complex dominated by Detroit. In this period the village center was active in manufacturing, wholesaling, retailing, transportation and communication, and some services.

Ecological theory stresses the importance of transportation in community development. With wagon and rail transportation the centrally organized area was small because of the relative inability to overcome space inexpensively. In theory, each small community had a comprehensive economic structure that was a direct link between the community and the regional economy; small communities remained independent until after 1900. After that, the radical alteration in local movement potentialities made possible by the motor vehicle facilitated the growth of metropolitan communities and the absorption of previously independent towns. The pattern was reproduced in Linden.

In 1900 most of Linden's inter-community exchange—whether goods, people, or ideas—was by railroad. Wagons were used only for very local movements. It was possible to reach Flint by railroad in $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 hours, excluding travel time to the station. Under the best weather conditions, the same trip required 3 to 4 hours buggy time, and a round trip took all day. The main rail connection was with Detroit.

The transportation pattern completely altered before 1950. Transportation became a metropolitan center function so that for Linden there was external control of road development and management, motor vehicle service and sales places, manufacturing of vehicles (as compared with local manufac-

ture in 1900), external trucking companies without local branches, importation of gasoline and other fuels, and external policing of transportation. Linden ceased to be a railroad transportation center. Instead, it became a center for servicing motor vehicles. Travel time to Flint had decreased to approximately one-half hour.

The economic structure of Linden that was based on the interaction of railroad and horse and wagon transportation was firmly established before 1900. The railroad facilitated the integration of Linden into a regional economy, dominated by Detroit, while the horse and wagon limited the size of the local area that could be effectively organized, thereby restricting the size of the village commercial function in the locally independent farm center. For Linden, the reduction in time-distance to Flint led to a radical departure from this pattern as it expanded greatly the local area that could be effectively organized under an expanding Flint (13,000 in 1900 and 163,000 in 1950). Linden remained relatively independent of Flint until 1920. Dependence then grew at an increasing rate, slowly during the 1920's, more quickly in the following decade, and with a rush during the 1940's. A detailed analysis of data showed that by 1950 Linden was firmly integrated as a sub-community in the Flint metropolitan community. The change was measured by analyses of a variety of specific dimensions of the absorption process. Among these were: expansion of services from Flint, of demands by consumers upon Flint, an outward redistribution of population, absorption of nearly one-half of the Linden resident labor force into Flint's labor force, reorientation of most of the daily activities of Linden's residents, and increased use of Linden's facilities by metropolitan area residents.

ORGANIZATION OF LINDEN

It was necessary to define economic function on three levels. A function of the simplest type, as defined here, was the providing of a specific group of commodities or services to a specific market, for example, food retailing to individuals. These specific functions were combined into twelve classes, such as retailing, as shown in Table 1. Finally, the twelve classes were combined into three general functional groups, for example, retail, mar-

TABLE 1. ESTIMATES OF CORPORATE BUSINESS UNITS, VILLAGE AND NON-VILLAGE, BY MAJOR ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS, 1900 AND 1950

Functional Type	1900				1950			
	Number of Units				Number of Units			
Production	V	N-V	Total	Per Cent	V	N-V	Total	Per Cent
Agriculture	17	380	397	87.0	6	412	418	79.0
Construction	6	0	6	*	14	12	26	6.0
Manufacture	5	1	6	*	5	2	7	
Sub-total	28	381	409	90.0	25	426	451	85.0
Exchange								
Transportation	3	0	3	*	2	1	3	*
Communication	3	0	3	*	2	0	2	*
Retail	17	0	17	*	31	5	36	*
Marketing	3	0	3	*	0	0	0	*
Real estate, finance and insurance	1	0	1	*	5	4	9	*
Sub-total	27	0	27	6.0	40	10	50	9.0
Maintenance								
Business repair	6	0	6	*	5	1	6	*
Personal service	8	0	8	*	7	1	8	*
Professional	5	0	5	*	6	1	7	*
Entertainment	0	0	0	*	1	8	9	*
Sub-total	19	0	19	4.0	19	11	30	6.0
Total	74	381	455	100.0	84	447	531	100.0

V denotes village; N-V denotes the rural service area.

* Percentages not computed for less than 19 units.

keting and other classes were combined to form the exchange group.

The functions analyzed were those performed by business units, which varied from one man places without internal differentiation but with a unique role in the community, to units of about 10 employees, internally differentiated.

In 1900 the business units of the village and service area formed a comprehensive business structure based upon the balanced interdependence of the farm production system and the village exchange and maintenance groups. Village business units were not symbiotically related. Nearly all the work activity of the community labor force was organized by units within the locality.

The economic base of the community was food production by 397 farms, most being in the general farming area surrounding the village. About two-thirds of all farm income was derived from relatively non-perishable field crops. Marketing was concentrated in Linden village for redistribution to the national economy.

The village was a transportation, communication, marketing, retail and service center.

As shown in Table 1, community needs were served through 57 non-farm units executing 42 specific functions. Businesses served both farm business requirements and individual consumption. Exchange functions were basic. When units classified primarily as exchange units were combined with units having some other primary function but including a secondary exchange function, about 70 per cent of all village units had some exchange function.

Shopping, convenience and bulk goods were available. Within the less important maintenance group, personal and professional services catered to individuals and the repair services to the farmers. The manufacturing and construction units contributed significantly to making Linden relatively self-sufficient by producing durable products for community consumption and regional export.

In 1950 all functions combined to give the Linden sub-community a specialized role in the Flint metropolitan community as a perishable foods production and processing area and as a retail and service area for the central city labor force. There was not a balanced interdependence between village and

farm. Village units were not symbiotically related. The Linden units organized only a small fraction of the community labor force.

Exchange functions were basic to the business structure of the village in 1950. Of the 78 village non-farm units shown in Table 1, over half were retail outlets or had secondary retail functions. However, as a retail center, only a relatively small part of the exchange requirements of the sub-community were met, as nine of ten businesses concentrated upon frequently needed, inexpensive, utilitarian, standardized consumer merchandise. Satisfying farm business needs was a secondary function of the village, but it filled only a small part of total farm needs.

Standardized, commonly needed services were the mainstay of the personal and repair services that constituted about one-fourth of village units in 1950. The two major village production functions—non-farm home construction and food processing—were unique, in that four of five units were oriented to the metropolitan market rather than to the local market. Even in manufacturing the village was oriented to an individual requirements market.

Farming was one of two major community income sources. The other was the labor force working in other communities, primarily Flint. Of the estimated 412 trade area farms in 1950, about 200 were commercial farms. Three-quarters of all farm income was from livestock and livestock products. While most marketing was done in a relatively small area, the village was largely by-passed since farmers sent various crops to several other centers within the Flint and Detroit metropolitan areas.

CHANGE ANALYSIS

Change was first analyzed on the specific functions level, and generalizations were then made by successive combinations of the specific changes. Four forms of change were found: (1) modification of the functions of units that continued from 1900 through 1950, (2) conversion of units to new functions, (3) discontinuance of units and functions through elimination of a need or transference of functions to a higher center, usually Flint, to other sub-communities of Flint, or into the Linden service area, and (4) addition of units and functions, equally by dif-

fusion and internal functional expansion. The latter consisted of the addition of units similar to existing modified continuing units, separation into distinct units of previously joined functions, and creation of economic units to carry functions previously held by non-economic organizations.

There was a gain of 17 per cent in the total number of business units, as they increased from 455 to 531. As shown in Table 1, the distribution of total community units among the three major functional groups changed toward greater proportions in the non-agricultural units. Nearly three-quarters of the unit increase was in non-farm units, as all non-farm units combined increased 96 per cent, while agricultural units increased by 6 per cent. The production group increased by 10 per cent, exchange by 85 per cent, and maintenance by 58 per cent.

Among village non-agricultural units, 30 units, carrying half the specific functions, persisted in modified form. About half of these had undergone substantial modification. The 27 discontinued units had carried 22 primary functions in 1900, 16 of which were eliminated before 1950. Eight secondary functions also disappeared. More than 60 per cent of the 1950 units (47 of 78) were added after 1900. These units carried 27 specific functions (60 per cent of 1950 non-agricultural functions). The number of specific village functions increased from 42 to 46. Rural non-agricultural units increased from 1 to 35.

Changes by Major Functional Classes. Table 1 shows there were eleven functional classes in each period with one, marketing, being discontinued and another, entertainment, being added. While significant changes occurred within each class, only the more important classes are separately discussed.

The farm system was replaced by Flint-employed wage labor as the predominant income producer for the sub-community. The general farm system was converted to a specialized farm pattern with perishable dairy products becoming the leading farm income producer, replacing relatively non-perishable field crops. Livestock remained important. Farming was oriented to a metropolitan market as compared with a regional and national market in 1900. Small farms were altered from subsistence to residential types.

The village retail system retained more of its specific functions and units than any other major class. At the same time, it had the most significant growth, nearly doubling its units. Proportionately, the village became more of a retail center. While expanding, retailing was altered through a decrease in the variety of merchandise lines and an increased concentration on convenience products at the expense of shopping goods lines, such as furniture, dry goods, and luggage. There was a greatly increased concentration on individual needs servicing, while there was a relative decline in catering to farm business needs. It is as a convenience goods retailing center that Linden village has found its niche in the metropolitan retail structure.

There was a growth in home construction, real estate, insurance and entertainment functions and units, while there was a loss in durable products manufacturing, farm implement repairing, major crop marketing, financing and specialized transportation. To summarize, there was an increase in units in the trade area but this did not indicate a decentralization from the village center, but rather, a growth of new functions in the sub-community.

Alterations in Overall Community Functions. The numerous specific functional changes indicate a reorganization and expansion of the economic structure of Linden. When these changes are related to the absorption changes previously described, the underlying trends stand out.

Activity continued over the fifty years in the three broad functional groups of exchange, production, and maintenance. The persistence of these three groups has meant the community was not transformed from the comprehensive functional structure of 1900 into a one function resort, dormitory or similarly highly specialized sub-community. However, there was a general movement from the comprehensive functional pattern in 1900 toward sub-community economic specialization in 1950 in both its village and service area sectors.

Linden was dependent upon the nation in both periods, but in the first, the village center was the mechanism of adjustment. In the later period, the village became more specialized, and both individuals and businesses became related to the Flint metropolitan

community as the adaptive agency, with different areas of the enlarged community performing different functions. In the first period, diffused regional and national adjustment had been dominated by Detroit.

A fundamental change in community structure has been the tendency of farm and village business systems to shift from a position of balanced interdependence to one of parallel economic structures, each directly related to the enlarged community. This is seen in the decreased dependence of the farm units on the village for supplies, repairs, and marketing. The change has occurred in spite of significant operational changes in farm and farm home methods, which have increased rather than decreased farm service requirements. On the other hand, the village is less dependent on farm income because of the growth of a Flint-employed labor force. The expansion of the village business system is based upon this growth.

A corollary development is the increased specialization of both farm and village sectors. The farm sector specializes in dairy products consumed within the Flint and Detroit metropolitan area, and the village specializes as a consumer service center for low unit price, utilitarian, frequently and commonly needed goods and services. The trend of village retail and service businesses is away from a combination of units oriented to both farm business and consumer markets to a concentration of consumer oriented units. In a general way, increased village specialization occurred through the growth in retailing, home construction, real estate, insurance, and entertainment, and a relative decrease in manufacturing, personal and professional services, repair services, and communication. Linden village has lost its major farm products market co-ordinating functions and its middleman function for the larger society. It has also lost its direct manufacturing relationship with the larger society, as food products now predominate and are oriented to metropolitan community servicing.

A comprehensive business system in an independent community has changed to a specialized business system in a sub-community. In the latter form Linden has a new functional relation to the larger society, as it is now a component of the Flint metropolitan community. The sub-community is a resi-

dential area for the community labor force. The village portion is a servicing sub-center for the resident labor force, and a perishable food products processing sub-center for the enlarged community. The service area is a perishable food production area for the metropolitan community, and also a recreational and entertainment area.

The alterations in the business structure have decreased the integrative function of the business units in the total community. In 1900 they were a dominant integrative force. The comprehensiveness of the farmer's relationships with wholesaler, merchant, and repairman was a key element in the integration of the community. Further, in 1900 the village consumer was highly dependent upon the local merchant. The decline in shopping goods lines indicates the magnitude of the decreased consumer dependence of 1950. The social distance between consumer and businessman increased, the relationship being much more commercial in 1950. There was the added integrative factor in 1900 that the labor force was employed entirely within the community and was bound by the same loyalties as the business proprietors. The commensalistic bond among businessmen, joining together to sponsor community activities, was stronger in 1900 than in 1950.

In spite of the changed status of its economic units, the community has remained a significant unit of social organization. The economic units retained some cohesive force, and other integrative forces have developed. These factors may be mentioned briefly. The expansion of the school system has perhaps been the most important new integrative force. The village government also increased its influence by extending some services to a larger area. Associations, such as organizations of veterans or of parents of school age children, have taken a greater role in community integration. Finally, increased specialization of family units has increased community integration by increasing dependence on other specialized units.

Sources of Change. The expanding Flint metropolitan community is estimated to be the source of most of the changes described above. Because of the interpenetration of sources of changes, it is extremely difficult in a case study based on a comparison of only two points in time to make a definitive

division of various influences and to state that change A in Linden was caused by stimulus X. Change in Linden resulted from these external sources: (1) direct influences from the national level (some metropolitan center other than Flint), (2) Flint as an intermediary for the national economy and hence appearing as the proximate cause, and (3) Flint as an independent source of change. Internal sources of change were: (1) at least one marketed invention, (2) the exhaustion of natural resources (hard woods), and (3) the chain of internal readjustments that results from one link being affected by an external stimulus. The external forces were the most significant.

While it is clear that significant changes in the national economy have had direct impact on Linden, most of the change appears to flow from Flint, acting either as an intermediary or as an original source. Separating the discovered changes in only a broad sense, it further appears that the major changes emanated from Flint acting as an independent source. For instance, the increased specialization of the sub-community and the expansion of the village system are major changes that are directly dependent upon metropolitan community expansion.

Metropolitan expansion is a general term for several more specific causes, each of which interacts with others, thereby compounding the changes. Some brief statements may be made relating specific aspects of metropolitan expansion to the changes in Linden.

The increase in population and the conversion of the local clientele for village services from an agricultural population to a predominantly factory employed population—through both suburbanization and change in occupation and place of occupation of Linden residents—has had direct effects upon the village and trade area business structure. Retail trade expansion and adaptation to non-farm consumers is a specific instance.

Improved transportation, by increasing consumer mobility, subjected Linden merchants to a new form of direct competition with business units outside of Linden, but within the metropolitan community. It is unlikely that these new competitive factors would have been so powerful if Linden were not part of the metropolitan community with a high level of road development and area

specialization, including a major shopping area. It is the availability of alternatives within the metropolitan community that makes effective the consumer's ability to broaden his trading relations and decrease his dependence on the village merchant. The decrease in shopping lines and pressure for increased standardization is a direct result.

The decreased dependence of consumers on residence community merchants has also affected the sub-community business structure through introduction of a new transient market, which brings business into Linden from other sections of the metropolitan community. The recreation and entertainment function are correlated with this.

The availability of the city and metropolitan population as a market for perishable foods facilitated the conversion of the farm system to milk production about 25 years ago.

Those Linden losses which involved a relocation within the metropolitan community, such as photography, shoe repairing, and farm services, should be ascribed to metropolitan community expansion.

The very specific changes in functions of continuing units is a type of change that is as much related to national economy changes as to metropolitan expansion. The existence of, or a change in, a specific commodity, technology, or service is largely dependent on the national economy. A specific commodity, technology, or service, or a change therein, is dependent on metropolitan expansion for its presence in Linden, the extent of its use, and how it is absorbed into the social structure of the small community.

Major changes naturally would have come to Linden regardless of its absorption into a metropolitan community. There were a variety of channels for this. About a fourth of the business units in Linden in 1950 had dealership relations with national distributors, such as farm implements. Other channels included the direct intervention of federal and state agencies, especially for ex-

tension services. A further type of national change was the elimination of certain needs, such as for carriages. Clearly, the design of the present study permitted case analysis of the nature of the changes in Linden but was inadequate for any definitive analysis of the precise stimulators of particular changes. Perhaps others will select particular change hypotheses and, with the use of more time-points, concentrate upon the problem of the sources of change.

CONCLUSIONS

A case analysis has been made of the changes in a small community from 1900 to 1950 as it became part of a metropolitan complex. While expanding, the small community was converted to a more specialized sub-community with less interdependence between the village and farm business systems. Both segments became more specialized and each more directly related to other areas within the metropolitan community. This was accompanied by a major change in the economic function of the hinterland community in relation to the larger community with the village center primarily assuming the role of a convenience goods retailing center and the farm sector primarily assuming the role of metropolitan dairy service area. Internal structure was materially altered as village business units and farm units were eliminated, expanded, or altered in function. The integrative force of business units declined. The data also show that the community has remained a significant unit of social organization within a new framework. Change was stimulated from both national and metropolitan sources, but metropolitan expansion appeared to be the major source. The metropolitan influence was felt through suburbanization, development of a transient market, resident and farm producer mobility within a metropolitan market, and the rise of new competitive factors within the expanded community.

SOCIOLOGY IN ITALY

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SOCIAL scientists who are seeking new research areas should look to Italy, for there lie virtually virgin areas in which to conduct investigation and explication of phenomena having local, international and universal application. The cultural setting of Italy presents the social scientist a wide range of problems with both theoretical and practical significance. Within the framework of western industrialized civilization, one can find problems typical of urbanized European and American settings. Yet, in the underdeveloped rural regions, one can find conditions that are, in many ways, more common to non-Western societies.

Italy does not offer the cultural range that one finds in India, but it also is an ethnological paradise. The cultural and linguistic variation in adjacent geographic areas is widely known, but its intensity must be seen first hand to be appreciated. In one of the villages in which two of the writers did field work, there are two distinct dialects and other cultural distinctions. Although each of the two dialect areas has its own parish, it cannot be called *campanilismo* in the strictest sense, for the residents of one parish can clearly hear the bells of the other.

Italy is an excellent place for extending the studies in the little community that have been done in Mexico and India.¹ Some mountain-top villages have maintained an almost incredible degree of cultural isolation. Others have had extensive contact with Italian cities, largely through emigration and the returnees. The combination of over-population and under-development has also sent many villagers to the Americas and to western Europe.

The American social scientist working in a village must take especial care to avoid identification with the American Department

of State because young Italians hope to emigrate to the U.S.A. and fear that any American may be gathering information on past political behavior which might prohibit such emigration. With one to two million Communists in Italy, and wide-spread understanding of America's view of Communism, this is hardly an unreasonable fear. However, the people of the country are friendly, especially to one who has a modest knowledge of the language, and the warmth and friendliness of the Italian social scientist give a guarantee of ready acceptance of the American sociologist who ventures into this land.

In order to understand the background of the present status of sociology a preliminary explanation must be given. Italy has only one professor of sociology, Professor Camillo Pellizzi, who holds the chair at the University of Florence, and is presently on leave as Councillor on Education and Applied Social Sciences to the European Productivity Agency at the Organization for European Economic Cooperation. One other young man, Professor Filippo Barbano has been certified as a professor of sociology, but he has not yet been appointed to a post.

How did such a situation arise? Despite Croce and Gentile, respect for sociology in Italy has never been strong, and most people teaching what is purveyed as sociology lack both respect for and esteem in the field. Almost all that passes for sociology in Italy today roots in Pareto and has extended its branches not far beyond the thinking of Croce. The coming of Mussolini wrote finis to sociology in Italy, and since his departure from the scene in 1945, progress has been exceedingly slow and difficult.

Immediately after the era of Mussolini, the state universities of Italy were required to file lists of courses they would teach in the future. This was interpreted at that time as a potential democratic reorganization of the ideas that they had been required to teach under fascist domination. The net result, however, was a stranglehold on the freedom

¹ See e.g. O. Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951; *Village India*, edited by McKim Marriott, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956; and, R. Redfield, *The Little Community*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.

of universities to introduce new subjects and new fields.

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Most universities in Italy, twenty-three in number, are state controlled, that is, they are under the direction of a central ministry. Only three independent universities exist. All Italian universities are divided into sub-groups designated as faculties, and of these sub-groups the Faculty of Law predominates. At the time of the reorganization in 1945 universities were free to designate the posts to which they would name existing professors; but, thereafter approval was required by the ministry before naming a person to occupy a newly created post. Thus, while it cannot be said that they were placed in a straight jacket, it can be fairly said that they were "restrained."

A "faculty" in an Italian university is a cross between a separate college in the American sense and a department. It is a separate branch of the university and has virtually independent status. The preponderance of what little sociology is taught in Italy occurs in the political science faculties of the six universities where separate social science faculties exist (Florence, Padua, Pavia, Perugia, and Rome, and at the private institution of Sacro Cuore in Milan). Scattered teaching occurs in several other universities in the faculties of law and statistics, but what is taught there cannot properly be called sociology as we understand it.

Historical Factors. It is difficult, at best, to analyze the contemporary picture of sociology unless the problem is placed in its historico-social perspective. Although for all practical purposes social sciences ceased to exist during the Fascist period, all too often the advent of Mussolini is defined or identified as the cause of the decline of social sciences, *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. While much can be said in favor of this hypothesis, i.e. that the advent of Fascism created a cultural climate unfavorable to the development of social sciences, this is insufficient to explain the entire process of the decline and fall of social sciences in Italy.

Toward the latter part of the nineteenth century, the European academic world witnessed the rise of sociology as an independent, autonomous discipline. True enough,

most of the writers in sociology had received their training in other disciplines (economics, jurisprudence, philosophy, among others); however, their thoughts converged on the development of a scientific study of society. In Italy, as in Europe generally, extensive explorations of society were carried out at the *verstehen* level of analysis. Without going into extensive detail (for such information one may make reference to the many histories of sociology) it may fairly be said that "theoretical" sociology was unhampered by empirical evidence. The basically "theoretical" approach of the Italian sociologists looked with disdain at such practical matters as fact-gathering. By the beginning of the twentieth century there had developed a trend toward system building in the social sciences generally and in sociology in particular. At a high level of abstraction, these systematic sociologies sought to explain all societal phenomena in accordance with a few limited principles. Each of the systems attempted to move toward theoretical closure. It is the opinion of the present authors that the tendencies of the Italian sociologists to effect closed systems of thought spelled the death-knell of sociology in Italy.

The far-reaching explanations of Italian sociologists, drawing on the precedent already established in such disciplines as economics, precluded the admission of evidence from further research. The systematic interpretations were "complete" in themselves. We contend that the dogmatic approach of neophyte social scientists ran headlong into the equally dogmatic and more firmly grounded disciplines of history and philosophy.

Thus, the stage was set for the ultimate destruction of the relatively weak social sciences. Prior to the rise of Fascism, social sciences in general, and sociology in particular, had come under attack by Croce. Logical positivism, as advocated by Comte, had long been under attack in the Catholic countries of Europe. Even after sociologists themselves had disowned the dogmatic approach of Comte, polemics were leveled against the empirical basis of social sciences. Philosophical historians, led by Croce, continued battle and found fault even with the name of this "anti-historical" discipline, "... Sociology

... a name which stands censured as an inelegant hybrid of Latin and Greek ... this diseased science (which is) arbitrary and disconnected."²

The followers of Croce, including the educational reformer Gentile, unwittingly aided the Fascists in creating the necessary conditions for a rise of anti-intellectualism in Italy. Any academic discipline that dared threaten the exalted position of philosophical historians came under attack by persons in entrenched positions of power. In fact, Gentile removed psychology and sociology from the curricula of the *scuole medie* and *licei*. This then was the historical setting of the decline and fall of the social sciences. The Fascists, commonly credited with the destruction of these disciplines, simply delivered the final stroke.

Following World War II a resurgent interest in contemporary problems swept through the Italian academic world. No single person can be identified as the leader of the move toward re-establishing the social sciences in Italy. Don Luigi Sturzo, commonly called the "founding father of the Christian-Democratic party," is often identified as the man most responsible for the rise of modern sociology in Italy. That Don Luigi was in the vanguard of the resurgent social sciences cannot be denied. However, the present writers are tempted to look beyond the single cause for an explanation of the event. This analysis is not intended to be exhaustive, but certain factors operating in the constellation of causes should be identified.

During World War II a partisan brigade (*Giustizia e Libertà*) gained fame for two major reasons: its valor in battle and its composition—academicians, intellectuals, and others who had heretofore been identified as "sayers" and not as "doers." Following the dissolution of wartime brigades, the nucleus of *Giustizia e Libertà* formed the basis for the establishment of the Action Party (*Partito Azione*) under Feruccio Parri. To Parri was entrusted the premiership of the first provisional post-war government and to the party intellectuals fell the task of writing the constitution of the Republic of Italy. The constitutional document reveals the growing concern of the intellectual with contemporary

social problems and the platform of Partito Azione was based, to a great extent, on many of the reforms advocated during the Roosevelt "New Deal" in the United States. Hence, it became immediately obvious that the sense of war-time urgency was to be channeled into constructive reform of the Italian socio-economic scene. The stage was set for a re-birth of the social sciences in Italy.

SOCIOLOGY TODAY

As *prima facie* evidence, the fact that but one chair of sociology exists in all of Italy would indicate that the discipline is still struggling to be accepted. However, this does not mean that sociology does not exist. On the contrary, there is ample evidence to support the view that sociology is far enough along to enter the stage of *apologia*. Much like sociologists in the United States, our Italian colleagues feel the need for sociology to be accepted not only as an academic discipline but as a scientific one. Further, there have been sufficient publications in the field to elicit the all-too-familiar argument, "American sociology is too concerned with the concrete case and lags behind us (Italy) in development of theory."

The picture of sociology at the university level is not as black as it has been painted. There are numerous young men and a sprinkling of oldsters who are anxious to see the field grow and develop throughout the country. Many of these young men have been exposed to writings in American sociology and several have studied in the United States, although only one is known to have an American degree in Sociology. There is a lively interest, in fact it might be said an unquenched thirst for the field, on the part of both university students and the general public.

By 1954 one post-war bibliography of sociology listed some 550 titles classified in 12 general categories and 45 specialized branches of sociology.³ Further, by 1956 some eight introductory texts in sociology were available to the Italian reader; only one of these texts was a translation of an American work (Rumney and Maier); the others

² Benedetto Croce, "L'utopia della forma sociale perfetta," *Il Mondo*, 28 January 1950.

³ Filippo Barbano, "La Sociologia in Italia, Oggi," extracted from *Il Politico*, No. 3, 1954, Pavia: Prem. Tip. Successori Frat. Fusi, 1954, p. 3.

were by Italians.⁴ A cursory examination of each of these texts reveals some points of congruence, others of divergence, and some areas of wide divergence from the current American models of sociology. Perhaps the major regions of difference should be noted: (1) adherence to the Lombrosian doctrines, (2) attempts at abstract (high-level) theory building, (3) disdain for field work.

Italian sociology is beset by many of the same problems evident in American sociology. One of the major disputes being waged among Italian students of sociology is that of the relationship between theory and research. Again, as in the United States, there is a group of scholars who have issued the call for "theories of the middle-range" (to borrow Merton's term) based on close working relationship between theoretical development and concrete research. There is, too, a growing concern regarding the relationships between sociology and philosophy. American sociologists would find much that is familiar in the discussions relating to the epistemological basis of sociology.⁵

The problem of analyzing Italian sociology at present is complicated by the lack of competent spokesmen for sociology in Italy. While many persons are engaged in writing on sociological subjects, their articles and works are scattered throughout many publications. The chief one is the *Quaderni di Sociologia* published by Professor Nicola Abbagnano and Dr. Franco Ferrarotti in Turin. This respectable little journal welcomes articles by United States writers and is devoted to the advancement of sociology in Italy. Two other competent journals are *Il Politico*, published by Professor Bruno Leoni at

Pavia, and *L'Economia*, published by Professor Nicola Di Girolimo in Rome. These publications also welcome articles by United States writers. While there is but one journal devoted to sociology *per se* there are many sociological subjects covered in such diverse publications as *La Civiltà Cattolica* (published by the Jesuits) and *Architettura*. The greatest difficulty exists in sorting through the many possible sources that relate to the field of sociology, however remote they might be.

Other agencies occupy themselves in sociological research and interests. Probably the first that should be mentioned are the schools of social work allied with the church or independent ones, which operate throughout Italy. Scattered beginnings of sociological research have been initiated in these schools but have not progressed far. One such school is singled out for mention: *Ente Nazionale Scuola Italiana per Servizio Sociale* at Rome. This school is under the direction of Monsignor Jean C. de Menasce. In collaboration with Prof. Tullio Tentori, director of *Museo Nazionale delle Arti e delle Tradizioni Popolari*, Msgr. de Menasce has done much to encourage social science research in the field of social work and its relation to family aid. A second type of agency is the private one such as *Società Umanitaria* of Milan which started in 1893 with a study of unemployment and a center for getting jobs in industry. This organization was later changed to interest itself broadly in housing for workers and afterward in a study of emigrants. Still another type of institution interesting itself in what might be called sociological research is that called *Comunità* headed by Adriano Olivetti, who heads the family that manufactures typewriters and computing machines and is a very civic minded Italian. This is a private organization created to bring about a rise in the status of the Italian worker in general. A fourth type is the public opinion survey organizations, which conduct researches primarily for profit but also with the purpose of training their own people in these procedures. Some or all of these work with the Commercial University "Luigi Bocconi" which maintains a computation laboratory at Milan.

Other areas of investigation have been developed by various organizations throughout

⁴ J. Banchi, *Istituzioni di Sociologia*, Vol. I: *Sociologia fondamentale*. Vicenza: Soc. An. Tipografica Ed., 1947; F. Barbano, *Teoria e Ricerca nella Sociologia contemporanea*. Milano: Dott. A. Giuffrè—Ed., 1955; C. Gini, *Appunti di Sociologia*. Roma: Edizioni Universitarie, Anno Accademico, 1948-49; G. Menegazzi, *Corso di Scienza Sociale*. Vol. I: *Fondamenti nuovi della Sociologia*. Verona: M. Lecce, ed., 1952; G. A. Musso, *Introduzione allo studio della Sociologia generale*. Roma: Ferri, 1954; C. Pellizzi, *Elementi di Sociologia*. Torino: Radio Italiana, 1954; J. Rumney e J. Maier, (Traduzione di Arrigo Ballardini). *Sociologia la scienza della società*. Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino, 1955; G. Sannazzaro, *Elementi di Sociologia* (Parte prima). Andria: Notarpietro, 1951.

⁵ See, e.g., N. Abbagnano et al., *Filosofia e Sociologia*. Bologna: Società Editrice il Mulino, 1954.

Italy. Professor Norberto Bobbio, through his institute at Turin, has done much to encourage sociological investigation of religion. Under his direction, students have been conducting research into the problems of political behavior and socio-economic variables. Also at Turin, IPSOA, the business managers' training school has launched a series of studies in the field of industrial relations. Ing. Giovanni Enriques, director of this organization, has encouraged his staff to explore the contributions of American industrial sociologists.

Continuing investigations of the socio-economic problems of South Italy have been sponsored by the Centro Democratico di Cultura e di Documentazione. Under the direction of Dr. Francesco Giordani and Professor Pasquale Saraceno, SVIMEZ has sponsored a series of studies related to the potential development of industry in the South. The present authors would be remiss if they did not mention the excellent demographic work of the Istituto Centrale di Statistica in connection with official governmental statistics gathering.

The wide range of interest reflected by Italian writers and scholars in the field of sociology may be seen by noting the categories developed by Prof. Barbano in an effort to create a contemporary bibliography of sociology.⁶ He cites publications in most of the traditional areas familiar to American sociologists and shows concern with theoretical areas pertaining to such problems as individual and social behavior, sociology and philosophy, social control, communication and political behavior, and the dynamics of social groups. Particular emphasis is placed on sociology of knowledge, man in industrial society, economic sociology, revolution and war, social control and bureaucracy, and sociology of religion. Barbano's bibliography categorizes the major contributions to sociological thought in Italy since the war and, as such, merits the title of a basic contribution toward codification of the varied literature in contemporary Italy.

There can be little doubt that since the end of World War II there has been a resurgence of sociology in Italy. In addition to the problems noted within the field perhaps

it would be of value to note some of the problems faced by this budding discipline in the general academic arena. Sociology has been continually under attack by the anti-empirical historians and philosophers who still hold a position of power in Italian universities. With the few exceptions noted elsewhere, sociology has not been incorporated into the curriculum at the university level and not at all in the secondary level of education. In recent years, sociology has come under attack by the older and better established field of psychology. Particular disdain has been evidenced by Padre Gimelli and Leonardo Ancona, who have also found considerable fault with current trends in American sociology in general and social psychology in particular. These attacks have created a condition of internecine warfare between the fields of psychology and sociology.

Counter-balancing this tendency have been a few attempts on the part of mature scholars who seek to establish integration of the social sciences at a high-level of abstraction. In addition, others in such diverse fields as economics, social work, urban planning, and architecture are eagerly looking forward to the rise of sociology as an independent scientific discipline to assume part of the academic division of labor. Much of what constitutes the work of the sociologist in the United States has fallen by default into the unwilling hands of economists, architects, anthropologists, and others.

The desire to learn the methods of American sociology has been shown by invitations extended to American scholars, by demands for their lecturing and research services, by requests for American bibliographies, and by translation of American publications in the field of sociology. As of September 1956 the following American titles were in print (or in process) in translated form: Rumney and Maier, *Sociology*; Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* and *Faces in the Crowd*; and Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*.⁷ Perhaps the reader can interpret a trend in Italian sociology from the titles selected.

American methodological contributions seem to be highly valued by Italian social

⁶ Barbano, "La Sociologia in Italia, Oggi," *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁷ These publications are part of a series of studies in the social sciences published by Il Mulino Press of Bologna. Under the directorship of Dr. Fabio Luca Cavazza, this publishing house has encouraged the growth of social scientific literature in Italy.

scientists in general and by demographers in particular. However, Italians know little of other American contributions in the social sciences. There is a tendency to look on American social scientists as "theoretical light-weights." To a great extent this view reflects the broad gulf that exists between the Italian and American philosophies of higher education.

There are many lacunae that hamper the further development of sociology in Italy. At the university level the lack of adequately trained instructional personnel hampers the development of students in the field. Library facilities in sociology tend to be poor and acquisitions are hampered by restricted budgets; laboratory facilities and visual aids are virtually non-existent. Students have limited contact with the professor and then only in a highly formalized situation (general throughout virtually all Italian academic disciplines). Team-work is a concept just entering the Italian scene. In fact, the word for "team-work" in Italian is just that, so new and foreign is the concept.

In recent years there have been several Parliamentary inquiries in social problems areas. Specific investigations were made into the perennial problems of unemployment and poverty.⁸ In addition, other studies by governmental agencies and private foundations have looked into the problems of urban redevelopment and technological problems of agriculture. Contributions of sociologists are conspicuous by their absence.

Neglect of public relations by Italian academics has created many problems for the budding field of sociology. There has been almost no attempt to convince others in the academic world or in the general literate public of the value of a strongly based social science. Also, the very nature of Italian academic life prevents the professor from devoting himself full time to his academic specialty. The entrance of many Italian social scientists into political areas has done much to discredit social science and has, in some cases, prevented objective research.

While all of Italy can be a "happy-hunt-ground" for the American sociologist, in terms of direct benefit to the growth and

further development of Italian sociology there are some specific areas that beg for continuing co-operation. It should be noted that it is not the intent of the present authors to seek to model the rise of Italian sociology after the American pattern. Rather, it is our intent to help create the necessary and sufficient conditions for the growth of this discipline in Italy.

Certain basic areas of research can contribute much to the further development of Italian sociology.

1. The entire area of the Italian family has been ignored except by social workers (who have little time for research) and by anthropologists (who are more interested in skull-measurement than family structure and values). Some major contributions to the study of the family in Italy have been made by contemporary novelists. While such works lend deep insight into the structure, functions, values, and changes of Italian family patterns, works of fiction are a poor substitute for an empirically based study of the family.

2. Community studies, including regional and provincial studies, would give a view of the functioning relationships in the social structure. More knowledge is needed of rural-urban communication, social stratification, social institutions, and the many processes that contribute to the normal pattern of life in Italy. As in the case of the Italian family, some excellent contributions of novelists and journalists are helpful in guiding the sociologist toward establishing working hypotheses, but their utility as contributions to scientific knowledge are limited.

3. Urban sociology might develop at the University of Rome, where interest has been evidenced by Professors Vittorio Castellano and G. Eugenio del Monte.

4. Rural sociology has a potential beginning at the University of Naples, where progress has been made in drafting plans for co-ordinated, inter-disciplinary research into problems of the South. Professor Manlio Rossi-Doria and Dr. Gabriele Gaetani d'Aragona have indicated their desire to co-operate with American scholars in the development of long range social science research projects.

5. Various governmental agencies can pro-

⁸ See e.g., *Atti della Commissione Parlamentare di Inchiesta sulla Miseria in Italia e sui mezzi per Combatterla*, Roma: Camera dei Deputati, 1954.

vide data for social science research. These data need to be compiled and evaluated.

6. Development of inter-disciplinary research involving academic and governmental personnel might be of mutual benefit.

7. Impact of technology on community structure, family structure, personal attitudes also need study.

CONCLUSIONS

During the two decades of Fascism, certain gains in theoretical social science were made, but the social sciences that deal with contemporary problems went into an eclipse. Since the end of World War II, Italy has experienced considerable social change that begs for interpretation and construction. It is within this framework that one must view the struggles of sociology to re-establish itself in the Italian academic community. Although great strides have been made, both in the fields of theory and method, it will take a new generation of scholars to evolve a distinctively Italian social science. American scholars may be helpful in guiding this change by accepting Italian scholars on this

side of the ocean and by co-operating in Italy in helping Italian scholars to find new directions. The Italians themselves must provide the major stimulation for new development by instituting a demand for the social sciences, particularly in the field of method. Because of the hold of established faculties in the Italian universities, one should not look for or expect a rapid change, but a faster rate of change is entirely possible.

We are convinced that Italy provides fertile soil for research in sociology. American researchers who go to Italy should keep in mind that "team-research," as it has been developed in America, is not a part of the Italian academic climate. The Italians much better understand individual research, or research performed by a group of students under the direction of one man.

The present writers have experienced the friendliness of Italian social scientists to their American colleagues. While doing research in Italy, we have frequently wondered if the Italian social scientist working in the United States could expect to receive such widespread and painstaking aid, so generously given. We hope that he may.

NOTES ON RESEARCH AND TEACHING



ON DESCRIPTION OF DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION*

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In the analysis of the relationship between qualitative variables a possible inference that commonly occurs is that one category of a given independent variable is "more important" than the other categories with respect to a given dependent variable. For example, in studies of voting behavior, it has been explicitly suggested that Catholic affiliation is more important than Protestant affiliation for partisan voting.¹ That is, one category of the independent qualitative variable, religious affiliation, is said to be more important than another in relation to the dependent variable, partisan voting. This notion will be referred to as *differential association*.

Because there has been no precise focus upon differential association as such, this is a relationship that has often been overlooked by researchers in sociology. We know how to deal only with total association, and therefore descriptions of the relationships between variables are structured in these terms.² Such analysis, in turn, profoundly affects problem formulation. For example, the analysis of political behavior deals with the relationship between voting and socio-economic status, voting and partisan affil-

ation, etc.³ Of course, controls are exercised in assessing these two-variable relationships, but in fact multiple relationships are not examined because there are no appropriate techniques of analysis and corresponding descriptive language. What is more, we tend to overlook entirely such relational notions as that being a Republican is more important than being a Democrat in voting. Studies have simply attended to the fact that socio-economic groupings show marked differences in voting and have not explored the idea that upper SES may be a greater determinant of partisan voting than lower SES.

This lack of technique and language may well account for the sterility of much of the empirical research thus far that purports to be guided by reference group theory.⁴ Not all reference groups are equally important with respect to given behavior. But this has usually been noted only among reference groups that are *not* mutually exclusive, e.g., Catholic and union member. Where the reference groups form a set of mutually exclusive groupings, e.g., Catholic and Protestant, the relative importance is not described, for analysis is usually limited to the association between the *total* set of groupings and the other variables.

In terms of total association, the statement that Catholic affiliation is more important than Protestant affiliation in voting has little meaning. An example of what is meant by Catholic affiliation being "more important" is indicated in Table 1. It has been assumed that psychological identification is measured by whether or not respondents chose "religious group" among the several suggested social groupings as important

*Paper read at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Society and the American Statistical Association, September, 1956.

¹E. A. Suchman and Herbert Menzel, "The Interplay of Demographic and Psychological Variables in the Analysis of Voting Surveys," in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg (editors), *The Language of Social Research*, Glencoe: Free Press, 1955.

²The problem is not restricted to qualitative data. It exists with quantitative data and is also unrecognized. Partial correlation merges the relationships that exist in different parts of the range of the variable "held constant." It is usually assumed, with no tests, that the relationships are strictly linear, but often this may not be so. In fact, it is not too rare to discover by close inspection of the values of the raw data, when reported, that the signs of the correlation are probably reversed in different parts of the range of the variable or variables that are "held constant."

³S. M. Lipset, P. F. Lazarsfeld, A. H. Barton and J. Linz, "The Psychology of Voting: An Analysis of Political Behavior," in G. Lindzey (editor), *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Vol. II, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954; Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, *Voting*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954, especially Appendix A.

⁴For insightful theoretical discussions see Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60 (May, 1955), pp. 562-569; and R. K. Merton and A. Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in R. K. Merton and P. F. Lazarsfeld (editors), *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier"*, Glencoe: Free Press, 1950.

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE REPUBLICAN OF TWO-PARTY VOTE *

	Catholic	Protestant
Chose religious group as among "most important" †	34 (129)	80 (264)
Did not choose it	42 (31)	81 (140)

* Percentages are computed on the basis of those who voted Republican or Democratic only. Those who did not vote or voted for minor parties are disregarded. The figures in parentheses are the total frequencies from which the adjacent percentages were computed. These data are taken from the Elmira study of voting behavior, reported in Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, *op. cit.*; Suchman and Menzel, *op. cit.*; and David Gold, "The Influence of Religious Affiliation on Voting Behavior," (Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1953).

† The respondents were asked, "Which of these are the most important to you? Choose as many as you feel are very important to you: Your union, religious group, political party, social group, lodge, work group, race, nationality."

to them. Analysis of the data indicates that with greater psychological identification, there is associated a smaller Republican vote among Catholics. On the other hand, how Protestants felt about their religious affiliation made no difference in how they voted. Thus, the religious affiliation of Catholics is interpreted as a "more important" consideration in partisan voting than that of Protestants.

In effect, Table 1 represents a combination of two four-fold tables, one for Catholics and one for Protestants, each cross-tabulating vote and psychological identification. An independent variable (religious affiliation) is held constant. The focus is then upon the partial associations⁵ between a second independent variable (psychological identification) and a dependent variable (partisan vote). It is observed that the relationship between the second independent variable and the dependent variable is greater in one category (Catholic) of the first independent variable than in the other (Protestant). On this basis it is inferred that the one category of the first independent variable is "more important" with respect to the dependent behavior than the other category. The inference of "more importance" is attached to the greater partial association; and conversely, of course, the inference of "less importance" is attached to the smaller (in this particular case, lack of) partial association.

Another test of the hypothesis that Catholic

⁵ G. Udny Yule and M. G. Kendall, *An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics*, London: Charles Griffin, 1946, Chapter 4.

affiliation is "more important" than Protestant affiliation is indicated by the data in Table 2. These data show that there is less difference between the voting patterns of businessmen and workers among Catholics than among Protestants. Thus, Catholic affiliation is "more important" than Protestant affiliation because it reduces the voting differences to a greater extent between Catholic sub-groupings who differ with respect to a politically relevant independent variable.

The formal aspect of the analysis is similar to the first analysis. Table 2 represents a combination of two four-fold tables, one for Catholics and one for Protestants, each cross-tabulating vote and occupation. An independent variable (religious affiliation) is held constant. The focus is upon the partial associations between a second independent variable (occupation) and a dependent variable (partisan vote). It is observed that the relationship between occupation and vote is smaller in one category (Catholic) of religious affiliation than in the other (Protestant). On this basis it is inferred that the former category is "more important" with respect to the dependent behavior than the latter category. The inference of "more importance" is attached to the smaller partial association.

This second analysis differs from the first in two substantive respects. (1) One of the independent variables has been changed, i.e., occupation is used instead of psychological identification with religious group. And as a result, (2) the interpretation of greater and smaller partial association has been changed, i.e., "more importance" is attached to the smaller partial association instead of the greater. Note that the decision to infer "more importance" from the greater or small partial association is a strictly substantive consideration, dependent upon the nature of the particular second independent variable that has been introduced into the analysis.

One interpretive caution must be made explicit. On the basis of this analysis of differential association between religious affiliation and voting behavior, it is tempting to make the following kind of prediction: "We would expect to find proportionately more Democrats among Catholic businessmen than Republicans among Protestant workers; more Democrats among

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE REPUBLICAN OF TWO-PARTY VOTE *

Occupation	Catholic	Protestant
Business and professional	44 (48)	91 (138)
Workers	28 (103)	67 (216)

* These data are from Gold, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

Catholic conservatives than Republicans among Protestant liberals, etc."⁶ At first consideration it may seem reasonable to make this kind of prediction for any subgrouping where there exists a politically relevant factor whose pull upon the voter would be expected to be opposite that of religious affiliation. However, Table 2 indicates that the data are precisely the opposite of the prediction involving occupation. Sixty-seven per cent of the Protestant workers are Republican, while only 56 per cent of the Catholic businessmen are Democrats.

Why is the prediction wrong? The answer lies hidden in the definition of "more importance" that is implied in the analysis. As has been indicated, "importance" is defined in terms of the *difference between partial associations*, the difference between the degrees of relationship that exist in a pair of contingency tables. It is based on the patterns made by *all* the frequencies in the tables. To attempt to make predictions about the differences between Catholics and Protestants in the relative sizes of *particular* frequencies in the contingency tables is in effect to shift to a different definition of "more importance." And thus the analysis of differential association is irrelevant for the prediction and vice versa. Or to put it more concretely, in this case whether there are relatively more Catholic businessmen who are Democrats than Protestant workers who are Republicans, is not related to the "importance" of religious affiliation as defined in this analysis.

It should be emphasized that but for the special circumstances existing in these data, the predictions would probably have been correct; but in any case, analysis of differential association would be irrelevant. The special circumstances are worth noting. The dependent variable (voting) is overwhelmingly skewed among the Protestants. Eighty per cent voted Republican. The skew is considerably less among the Catholic respondents, 65 per cent of whom voted Democratic. Therefore, in almost any Protestant sub-grouping of any significant size we would expect to find a high proportion of Republican

voting. And if the proportion of Republicans in a Protestant sub-grouping is compared to the proportion of Democrats in a Catholic sub-grouping, the over-all voting patterns of the two religious groupings in this case predetermines to a large extent that the Republican Protestant proportion will be larger than the Democratic Catholic proportion. But the proportion of Republican or Democratic voting in any given religious sub-grouping is not involved in the definition of what is meant by "Catholic affiliation is more important than Protestant affiliation in partisan voting" that is made explicit in an analysis of differential association.

SUMMARY

A formal method has been demonstrated by which hypotheses of differential association between a given independent variable (X) and a dependent variable (Y) can be tested.⁷ In the sense defined by the test, it has been shown that one category of X is "more important" with respect to Y than any of the other categories of X. In order to do this, a second independent variable (W), relevant to Y, is introduced. The partial association of W and Y in each category of X is then observed. Finally, the given substantive considerations involving the nature of each of the variables (W, X and Y) in relation to each other indicate the inference of "importance" that can be made from the relative sizes of the partial associations.

⁷ In another paper presented to the American Sociological Society, September, 1955, I have described a technique for decomposition of total association, which makes it possible to specify in quantitative terms the degree of differential association. Since I am, in this paper, concerned solely with presentation of the formal aspects of a *descriptive* technique of analysis, I have felt that the matter of statistical significance is irrelevant. The problem of statistical significance in differential association, when dealing with anything but four-fold tables, is a difficult one, for it involves the significance of the difference between partial associations or perhaps the significance of the difference between chi-squares. With four-fold tables, the significance of the difference between differences between proportions can be used.

⁶ Suchman and Menzel, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION



COMMENT ON KISH'S "CONFIDENCE INTERVALS FOR CLUSTERED SAMPLES"

To the Editor:

Dr. Kish [*American Sociological Review*, 22 (April, 1957), pp. 154-165] points out that:

When pairs of subclasses are compared, and the variances are computed for the differences of the two means, the ratio of $\frac{\text{True Var.}}{\text{s.r.s. Var.}}$ is similar to

those found for single means. Here too, the actual variance may be as much as 1.8 times the value that s.r.s. formulas would yield. In these comparisons, however, we find ratios as low as 0.8; at times the actual variance is a little less than s.r.s. formulas would indicate. At present we lack good theoretical justification for this result (p. 157).

A ratio greater than one indicates that the individuals within a cluster are more homogeneous with respect to the variable measured than are individuals drawn from a simple random sample of the population. For certain clusters and variables, there can be a "built in" heterogeneity within a cluster. For example, variables heavily dependent upon sex in husband-wife clusters (as in Item 1 of Table 2) would show greater homogeneity in the population than in the clustered sample.

EDWIN COHEN

Educational Research Corporation

REPLY TO COHEN

To the Editor:

Mr. Cohen is correct in believing that the

ratio of $\frac{\text{True Var.}}{\text{s.r.s. Var.}}$ can be smaller than 1. Actu-

ally, in Table 1 of my article, the first row is for such a case. The meaning of this in terms of homogeneity within clusters and in terms of a negative intraclass correlation is explained in the sources cited in references 1 and 2 of the article.

I believe that Mr. Cohen is wrong in thinking that this would provide the "theoretical justification" I said (page 157) was lacking. Item 1 in Table 2 refers to a case of a single respondent in each household; therefore the heterogeneity of the husband-wife cluster does not bring about this result. Nor could we think of any other kind of heterogeneity in any of our clusters (segments, blocks, and counties) that would explain the result. The theoretical justification we are looking for is a sociological one and not merely the statistical task of finding the mathematical limits of extreme heterogeneity. Therefore, I am afraid that Mr. Cohen's point was not new to us, and that it will take some patient search to find the explanation for the result.

As it happens, that explanation is not very important as regards the main trend of the article. Row 1 of Table 1 shows that the ratios

below 1 for $\frac{\text{True Var.}}{\text{s.r.s. Var.}}$ are not so low that they

cause very important effects on confidence intervals. In the overwhelming majority of cases the confidence intervals are larger than s.r.s. That is why I concentrated the article on that kind of distortion.

LESLIE KISH

University of Michigan

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS



REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS AND ELECTIONS, 1957

In accordance with the Society's By-Laws and with due regard for the fields of specialization and the geographical distribution of the members, President Robert Merton appointed the following Committee on Nominations and Elections: Talcott Parsons, *Chairman*; Theodore F. Abel, Read Bain, Bernard Barber, Leonard Broom, E. Franklin Frazier, Leo A. Goodman, Oswald Hall, Homer L. Hitt, Alfred R. Lindesmith, Paul Meadows, Theodore M. Newcomb, Charles H. Page, Bryce Ryan, Edgar A. Schuler.

Three ballots were cast by mail by the Committee before a slate was accepted on March 5, 1957 as follows:

President-Elect

Kingsley Davis
Everett C. Hughes

Vice-President

Robert E. L. Faris
William H. Sewell

Vice-President-Elect

Harry Alpert
Charles H. Page

Committee on Publications

Robert Bierstedt
Albert J. Reiss

Council

Gordon W. Blackwell
John A. Clausen
W. Fred Cottrell
Walter Firey
Alex Inkeles
John W. Riley, Jr.
T. Lynn Smith
Preston Valien

The ballot also included two sets of changes in the Constitution and By-Laws:

Set a). Changes designed to provide for one Vice-President instead of two, to ex-

tend the term of Vice-President from one year to two, and to make the Vice-President a member of the Executive Committee as well as of the Council.

Set b). Specifying the composition and method of selecting the Board of Editors of *Sociometry*.

Ballots were mailed from the Executive Office on March 22, 1957 to the 2,421 Active members of the Society. Of these, 1,247 ballots were returned, which was 52 per cent of the voting membership. Write-in votes mentioned close to one hundred additional names for the several offices, but no one person received more than 7 write-in votes for any office.

Procedural instructions which have developed over the years were carefully followed and all identification was removed from the ballots before the tally was made. It is suggested that, in the future, the labor of tallying might better be handled by I.B.M. procedures, and that ballots might be sent by air mail to members in other countries.

The following nominees were elected:

President-Elect

Kingsley Davis

Vice-President

Robert E. L. Faris

Vice-President-Elect

Harry Alpert

Committee on Publications

Robert Bierstedt

Council

Gordon W. Blackwell
John A. Clausen
W. Fred Cottrell
Preston Valien

Both sets of changes in the Constitution and By-Laws were approved, as in the revised version of the Constitution which appears below.

Respectfully submitted,
TALCOTT PARSONS, *Chairman*

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I. NAME

Section 1. The Society shall be known as the American Sociological Society.

ARTICLE II. OBJECTS

Section 1. The objects of the Society shall be to stimulate and improve research instruction and discussion, and to encourage cooperative relations among persons engaged in the scientific study of society.

ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP

Section 1. Any person interested in the objects of this Society shall be eligible to membership. The forms of membership and the privileges and dues of members are set forth in By-Laws, Art. I.

ARTICLE IV. OFFICERS

Section 1. The officers of the Society shall be a President, a President-Elect, a Vice-President, a Vice-President-Elect, a Secretary, an Editor of the *American Sociological Review*, and an Executive Officer. The President-Elect and Vice-President-Elect shall be elected by the membership. The President-Elect and the Vice-President-Elect shall serve for one year, and shall then automatically become President and Vice-President respectively for one-year terms. The Secretary, the Editor and the Executive Officer shall be elected by the Council for terms to be fixed by the Council. (See By-Laws, Art. III.)

Section 2. The President of the Society shall preside at all business meetings of the Society. He shall be Chairman of the Council and of the Executive Committee. He shall perform all duties assigned him by the Society and the Council. In the event of his death, resignation, or absence except as otherwise provided in this Constitution, his duties shall devolve successively upon the Vice-President and the President-Elect.

ARTICLE V. OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

Section 1. The Society shall maintain a journal entitled, the *American Sociological Review*. (See By-Laws, Art. IV.)

Section 2. The Society shall issue such other regular or occasional publications as it deems necessary in the promotion of its objectives.

ARTICLE VI. COMMITTEES AND BOARDS

Section 1. The Society shall constitute a Council from among its members who are eligible to vote. The Council shall be the permanent governing body of the Society, except insofar as the Society delegates governmental functions to officers or to other committees independent of or in cooperation with the Council.

Section 2. The Council shall consist of the President, the President-Elect, the Vice-President, the Vice-President-Elect, the Secretary, the Editor of the *American Sociological Review*, past presidents for the first three consecutive years after completion of their respective terms as President, representatives of regional or affiliated groups, a minimum of twelve elected members, and such other members of the Society as may be prescribed in the By-Laws. With the exception of *ex officio* members of the Council the term of membership shall be three years, and approximately one-third of the members are to be elected each year.

Section 3. The Council shall be responsible for the formulation of policy and the general direction of the affairs of the Society, and shall call regular and special meetings of the Society. It shall have the power to fill vacancies in its elective membership occasioned by death, resignation, or failure to elect, such appointees to hold office until the next annual meeting. Vacancies among the representatives of affiliated societies shall be filled by the societies affected.

Section 4. One-third of the total membership of the Council shall constitute a quorum at meetings, and a majority vote of those members in attendance shall control its decisions. When the Council is not in session, questions may be submitted by mail to its members for vote; a simple majority of those responding shall control decisions on such questions. However, no vote of the Council shall be binding unless the majority vote includes at least one-third of the total membership of the Council.

Section 5. The Council shall constitute from among its members an Executive Committee which shall have continuing responsibility for the implementation of the policies and programs established by the Society or the Council. The Executive Committee shall have all the powers of the Council when the Council is not in session subject to such general directions and instructions as the Council may give, and the

Executive Committee shall make regular reports of its activities to the Council.

Section 6. The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, Vice-President, President-Elect, Vice-President-Elect, the retired President for the first year after his term of office, the Secretary, the Editor of the *American Sociological Review* and four members to be elected from the Council, by the Council, two of whom are to be elected each year for a two-year term.

Section 7. The Society and the Council may establish such committees as may be necessary for the conduct of the Society's affairs.

ARTICLE VII. MEETINGS

Section 1. The Society shall hold at least one meeting each year, at a time and place to be determined by the Council. At each annual meeting there shall be at least one general meeting of the membership at which the Officers and the Council shall report to the Society and any business of the Society may be transacted.

ARTICLE VIII. SPECIAL FUNDS AND ENDOWMENTS

Section 1. The Society may solicit and receive special funds and endowments. Expenditure of such funds shall be authorized only by the Council.

ARTICLE IX. AMENDMENTS

Section 1. The Constitution may be amended by a two-thirds affirmative vote of those voting in a referendum submitted by mail to the voting members of the Society.

Section 2. Amendments may be proposed by the Council, or by petition of at least 50 voting members of the Society, or by a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting at a business meeting of the Society.

Section 3. All proposed amendments to the Constitution shall be communicated to the voting membership at least fifty days prior to the vote on the amendment.

BY-LAWS OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

ARTICLE I. MEMBERSHIP AND DUES

Section 1. The membership of the Society shall consist of the following classes: Active, Associate, Joint, Student, Life, Honorary, and Emeritus. Except as hereinafter specified the dues for membership in the Society shall be ten dollars per annum, payable in advance, without initiation fee. Each member shall be entitled to one subscription to the *Review*. Active, Life, and Emeritus members shall be eligible to vote and to hold office.

Section 2. To be eligible for Active membership an applicant must have:

- a Ph.D. or equivalent professional training in Sociology, or
- substantial professional achievement in Sociology, or
- a Ph.D. or its equivalent, or substantial professional achievement in a closely related field, provided that the applicant's interest and activities have sociological emphasis or implication, or
- been classified as an Active member on January 1, 1951.

Section 3. Registered undergraduate and graduate students in residence at educational institutions who have not completed all requirements for the Ph.D. degree and who are sponsored by a member of the Society may be ad-

mitted to Student membership in the Society for a period not to exceed five years. The dues shall be five dollars per annum, payable in advance. This membership shall include one subscription to the Society's publication(s) and the right to attend all meetings of the Society, but not the right to vote or hold office.

Section 4. Any Active or Associate member of the Society may become a Donor by the payment of dues of twenty dollars or more per annum.

Section 5. Any Active member of the Society may become a Life member by the single payment of two hundred dollars. Joint Life members shall pay \$230. Life members shall have the rights and privileges of Active membership.

Section 6. Any Active member of the Society when retired by his institution, provided that he has paid dues to the Society continuously for at least twenty years, may become an Emeritus member of the Society. Emeritus members pay no dues but shall have all the rights and privileges of Active membership.

Section 7. Honorary membership in the Society may be conferred upon any person by election by the Council. Honorary members are not entitled to vote or to hold office in the Society, but shall otherwise enjoy all the rights and privileges of membership.

Section 8. Any person interested in study, teaching, research or practice in Sociology, or

in closely related fields of scientific interest, may be admitted to Associate membership in the Society upon the payment in advance of ten dollars per annum. An Associate member shall be entitled to one subscription to the Society's publication(s) and to attend all meetings of the Society, but shall not vote or hold office.

Section 9. Joint membership in the categories for which they are eligible may be taken out by a husband and wife, upon payment in advance of eleven dollars per annum, both of whom shall have all the rights and privileges of membership in the Society, provided that they shall together be entitled to one subscription to the Society's publication(s).

Section 10. Decisions concerning eligibility for membership in any class and recommendations for election of honorary members shall be made by the Classification Committee.

Section 11. Upon the failure to pay annual dues, the privileges of membership in the Society, including subscriptions to the Society's publication(s) and the right to vote, shall be suspended on June 1, and membership shall be terminated on December 31 of the year following the last full-year payment of dues.

Section 12. An application for membership received prior to October 1 in any year shall be dated back to January 1 of that year, and publications of the Society for the current year shall be sent to the member. An application for membership received on or after October 1 shall be dated forward to January 1 of the next year and all subsequent issues of the *Review* for the current year shall be sent to the member gratis. Student memberships, however, may, in the discretion of the Secretary, be for a 12-month period beginning with the start of the academic year.

ARTICLE II. ELECTIONS AND VOTING

Section 1. All officers of the Society and members of the Council or Committees who are elected by the membership at large shall be elected by a mail ballot of the members qualified to vote. The term of office shall begin at the close of the annual meeting of the Society in the year during which they are elected. (See Article V, Sec. 1j of the By-Laws.)

Section 2a. The Committee on Nominations and Elections shall select two names each for the offices of President-Elect, Vice-President-Elect, and for the one annual vacancy in the Committee on Publications. These names shall be placed on a ballot with one blank space for direct nominations from the membership for each position to be filled.

b. For the Council, the Committee on Nominations and Elections shall select twice as many

names as there are annual vacancies to be filled, and shall place these on the ballot with the addition of as many blank spaces for direct membership nomination as there are vacancies to be filled.

c. These ballots shall be sent to the members eligible to vote by first class mail not later than May 15 of each year. To be valid as votes they must be returned to the Chairman of the Committee on Nominations and Elections by the date specified on the ballot, which shall be not less than 30 days from the date of mailing. Each member voting shall be required to place his signature upon the envelope in which the ballot is returned, but the election procedure shall preserve the anonymity of each ballot.

Section 3. Any person whose name is written in for a particular office by at least one-tenth of those returning ballots, and in no case by less than twenty-five persons, shall be considered as nominated for that office, if such nominations are made on the first ballot. The Committee on Nominations and Elections shall then prepare a second ballot containing the names of the candidates for each of these offices, indicating which persons were nominated by the committee and which were nominated by the membership. This ballot shall be sent to the membership within thirty days after the close of receipt of the original ballots and shall be returnable to the Chairman of the Committee within thirty days of the date it was mailed.

Section 4. In case no names are written in for any office, or in the event that any name written in is found on less than one-tenth of the ballots returned, the results of the first ballot shall determine the election for that office.

Section 5. The candidate (or candidates when two or more vacancies are to be filled) receiving the largest number of votes shall be declared elected. In case of a tie vote the Chairman of the Committee shall decide by lot in the presence of the tellers between the tied candidates. In case of the death, resignation, or inability to serve of any person elected prior to the next annual meeting the candidate who had received the next highest number of votes shall be declared elected.

Section 6. The Chairman of the Committee shall appoint tellers to assist in the tabulation of the ballots.

Section 7. The Chairman of the Committee shall report the results of the ballot to the Secretary, and shall deposit in the Executive Office all ballots cast together with all pertinent data and records of the Committee. The Executive Office shall hold the ballots and other materials submitted by the Committee in safe custody for a period of at least eighteen months.

Section 8. The report of the Committee shall be published and distributed to the membership before the annual meeting.

Section 9. By direction of the Council or the Executive Committee, mail ballots, other than elections, may be conducted by the Executive Office in a manner to be specified by the Council or the Executive Committee.

Section 10. The Secretary shall record the results of all voting by the Society.

Section 11. The business meetings of the Society shall be conducted in accordance with Robert's *Rules of Order*.

ARTICLE III. OFFICERS

Section 1. The Secretary shall record the transactions of the Society, the Council, and the Executive Committee, shall work closely with various committees as herein specified, and shall perform such other duties as the Council may assign to him.

Section 2. The Editor of the *American Sociological Review* shall perform those duties as specified under Article IV of these By-Laws and shall undertake such other functions as may be assigned to him by the Council.

Section 3. The Executive Officer shall be responsible for the management of the Society's central office; shall receive, have custody of, and disburse the funds of the Society, subject to the By-Laws and the rules and orders of the Council; shall have jurisdiction over and attend to the business details of the Society's publications within the budget authorized; and shall function to facilitate the general work of the Society and its Committees. He shall be responsible, through the President, to the Council. He shall be a non-voting member of the Executive Committee and the Council, with responsibility under the President for the preparation of agenda for the meetings.

ARTICLE IV. PUBLICATIONS

Section 1. All the publications of the Society shall be under the general direction of the Publications Committee, subject to the approval of the Council.

Section 2. The Board of Editors of the *American Sociological Review* shall be composed of an Editor, the Executive Officer, and not less than six Associate Editors, to be elected by the Council for three-year terms, at least two of which shall expire each year. The number of Associate Editors beyond six shall be determined by the Council. The Editor and Associate Editors, who are subject to re-election if the Council desires, shall be selected with a view to technical competence, and, with respect

to the Associate Editors, an adequate distribution of specific fields of competence. The Editor shall be Chairman of the Board.

Section 3. The Editor of *Sociometry* shall be elected by the Council for a term to be fixed by the Council. He shall serve *ex officio* as a member of the Council.

Section 4. The Board of Editors of *Sociometry* shall be composed of an Editor and not less than ten Associate Editors. The Associate Editors shall be elected by the Council from nominations made by the Editor and the Council. They are subject to re-election on the recommendation of the Editor. They shall serve three-year terms, at least three of which shall expire each year. The Editor shall be Chairman of the Board.

Section 5. The composition and methods of selecting the Board(s) of Editors for any additional publication(s) shall be determined by the Council, provided that the Secretary and Executive Officer shall be members of the Board for whatever publication is to carry the reports of the Society's official business.

Section 6. The Editor of each of the official publications of the Society shall be responsible for the editorial management of the publication. He shall have the authority to appoint such contributing, book review or special-issue editors as he may deem necessary. He must work within the policies established by the Committee on Publications, and within the budget as approved by the Council.

Section 7. In the event that the Society issues any publication in addition to the *Review*, the Council shall determine, on the recommendation of the Committee on Publications, the most appropriate means of publication of official news and notes, and matters pertaining to the business affairs of the Society.

Section 8. The Editor shall have the right to reject for publication any paper or other communication submitted to him.

ARTICLE V. COMMITTEES

Section 1. The Council.

a. The Council may create such temporary committees of its own or of the Society, not provided in the Constitution, as may seem useful for promoting the work of the Society.

b. All motions presented at business meetings for the creation of new committees affecting the policy of the Society shall be referred to the Council for its recommendation. The Council shall report its recommendation concerning such motions at the next business meeting of the Society.

c. The Council shall hold at least one meeting in conjunction with the annual meeting of the Society.

d. The Council shall elect the Secretary, the Editor of the *American Sociological Review*, the Editor(s) of any other publication(s) which the Society may establish, and the Executive Officer.

e. The Council may make decisions to cooperate with other societies and associations, and shall elect representatives from this Society to such other societies or associations.

f. All action of the Executive Committee and the Council of continuing significance must be reported to the Society.

g. Actions taken by the membership present and voting at an annual business meeting shall be binding upon the Council, provided that the Council may, within four months of such a meeting, submit to mail referendum of the members of the Society any action taken at an annual meeting. The results of such a referendum shall supersede the action taken at the annual meeting.

h. In time of war or other national emergency the Council may suspend the holding of annual meetings or other regular activities of the Society when such action is deemed to be in accord with the national interest.

i. In the event of the suspension of the annual meeting, all actions of the Council or its Executive Committee which would normally be reported to the Society for its approval shall be communicated to the members in an official publication of the Society, and shall form a part of the Official Proceedings of the Society unless and until revised by action of the Society.

j. In the event of the suspension of the annual meeting, newly elected officers, members of the Council and others elected by the Society or the Council shall take office at the time determined by the Council and, in any event, not later than January 1 following the election.

Section 2.

a. The Executive Committee shall meet on the call of the President or on the written request of three of its members.

b. Five members of the Executive Committee shall constitute a quorum at meetings, and a majority vote of the members in attendance shall control its decisions.

c. When the Committee is not in session questions may be submitted to the members for vote; a simple majority of those responding shall control decisions on such questions.

Section 3.

a. There shall be a Committee on Publications, consisting of the President, the Secretary, the Editor of the *Review*, the editor(s) of other publication(s), the Executive Officer and a minimum of three other members elected by the membership of the Society for three-year terms, provided that during the first year one shall be elected for a one-year term, one for a two-year term, and the other for a three-year term.

b. The Publications Committee shall be responsible for policy on all publications of the Society. All proposals for the establishment of a new publication or for major modifications in an existing publication of the Society shall be subject to the approval of the Council.

Section 4. The President of the Society shall annually appoint a Committee on Nominations and Elections consisting of fifteen members. The Committee shall be broadly representative of the membership of the Society, taking into account the fields of specialization and the geographical distribution of the members. Not less than four nor more than five of the members shall be continued from the Committee of the previous year.

Section 5. Each year the Council shall select the Program Committee for the annual meeting to be held two years later. The Committee shall consist of the incoming President-Elect, the Vice-President-Elect, the Secretary, and two members of the Society elected by the Council for two-year terms.

Section 6. The Council shall elect from among the voting members of the Society a Classification Committee of three members for three-year terms, one member to be elected each year. The Committee shall recommend to the Executive Committee criteria for the classification of memberships in accordance with the standards set out in Article I of these By-Laws; in consultation with the Secretary devise procedures for passing upon future applications for membership; review the criteria in use from time to time with a view to recommending to the Council the application of higher standards as the standards of sociological training improve and the number of well trained sociologists increases, and exercise the powers specified in Article I, Section 10 of these By-Laws.

Section 7. The Council shall annually appoint a Committee on Training and Professional Standards. This Committee shall retain under constant review the standards for the profession as a whole. The Committee shall study current standards for professional training and

research and from time to time submit its findings to the Council with recommendations.

Section 8. The Council shall annually appoint a Committee on Budget and Investment. The Chairman of the Committee shall be a member of the Executive Committee, provided that the President, the Editor of the *Review* and the Executive Officer shall not be appointed as Chairman of this Committee. The Committee in co-operation with the President, the Executive Officer, and the Editor of the *Review*, shall annually propose to the Council a budget for the ensuing year. At the end of the first half of each fiscal year it shall review the receipts and expenditures to date and if necessary make recommendations for adjustments in the budget. It shall supervise the investment and banking activities of the Society and shall have the responsibility and the authority for the investment and the reinvestment of funds owned by or held by the Society. (See Article VI of these By-Laws.)

Section 9. The Council shall annually appoint a Resolutions Committee. All resolutions shall be referred to this Committee before submission to the vote of the Society. This Committee reports to the Council.

Section 10. A Committee on Research shall be appointed annually by the President. This Committee shall have specific responsibility for the planning and promotion of the research activities of the Society.

Section 11. The President shall annually appoint a Membership Committee, whose members shall be selected from the various geographic areas of the Country. The function of this Committee is the solicitation of membership in the Society.

Section 12. The President shall annually appoint a Committee on Public Relations which shall work with the Secretary and the Executive Officer in publicizing the activities of the Society and in conducting relations with the Press.

Section 13: Each committee must work within the budget as approved by the Council.

ARTICLE VI. BUDGET AND FINANCE

Section 1. A budget for the ensuing fiscal year covering all expenditures of the Society, including the cost of publications, shall be submitted by the Committee on Budget and Investment to the Council for approval. Proposals for changes in the budget shall likewise be submitted to the Council by the Committee except that small interim changes (not to exceed \$100 in any budget category) may be authorized by the Executive Committee on the recommendation of the Budget Committee.

Section 2. This budget shall be binding upon the Executive Officer.

Section 3. A bond in the amount of ten thousand dollars, the cost of which is borne by the Society, shall be required of the Executive Officer or other officer or appointee handling the funds of the Society.

Section 4. The accounts of the Society shall be audited at the conclusion of each fiscal year by a certified public accountant approved by the Council. The report of this audit shall be published to the members of the Society.

ARTICLE VII. RELATION TO REGIONAL AND OTHER AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS

Section 1. Regional sociological societies whose membership is recruited from two or more states, and other national societies concerned with specialized phases or applications of sociology, may affiliate with the American Sociological Society upon approval by a majority of the members of the American Sociological Society voting. Each affiliated society shall be entitled to one representative on the Council of the Society.

Section 2. Each affiliated society is free to designate its representative to the Council in its own manner provided that the representative shall be an Active member of the American Sociological Society.

Section 3. In the event that an affiliated organization meets at the same time and place as the American Sociological Society, the program of the affiliated organization shall be coordinated with that of the Society insofar as is possible.

Section 4. In the event that the Council finds that the conditions of affiliation are not being fulfilled by any affiliated organization, or that such affiliation is no longer to the best interests of the American Sociological Society, the Council may recommend to the Society a termination of the affiliation. Such termination shall require approval by a majority of the members of the American Sociological Society voting.

Section 5. Affiliated organizations shall be entitled to the opportunity to publish notices of their activities in the publications of the Society, and to such services by the Executive Office of the Society as the Council may determine.

Section 6. Affiliated societies, which were accepted as such prior to January 1, 1951, shall be eligible to continue as such, subject to the provisions of Section 4 of this Article.

ARTICLE VIII. AMENDMENTS

Section 1. Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed by any member of the Society,

and adoption shall require a majority vote of the members present and voting at any annual meeting of the Society, provided that no action shall be taken until the amendment has been read and has lain on the table until a subsequent business meeting.

Section 2. The Council may, upon two-thirds

vote of its members, submit amendments to the By-Laws to the members of the Society by mail ballot, provided that such amendments have been communicated to the membership at least thirty days prior to the vote on the amendment. Such amendments shall be adopted upon a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members voting.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



ALVIN GOOD

1882-1957

Alvin Good, professor at Northwestern State College, Louisiana, for 32 years before his retirement in 1952, died at his home in Natchitoches on March 21, 1957 at the age of 74. Good received his bachelor's degree in 1910 at Kansas State Teachers College, the M.A. at the University of Colorado in 1917, and the Ph.D. at the University of Chicago in 1918. He was the author of *Sociology and Education* (1926).

BERNHARD J. STERN

1894-1956

Bernhard J. Stern died of a heart attack on November 22, 1956. Although he had been ill for some time, he insisted on meeting his classes at Columbia almost to the day of his death. This quiet devotion to duty as he saw it was in part the measure of the man. His commitment to scholarship is reflected notably in his contributions to both sociology and anthropology through a series of scholarly studies of technology, medicine and science, family life, race and ethnic relations, and higher education.

Bernhard J. Stern was born June 19, 1894 in Chicago. He began his studies at the University of Chicago and went on to receive his A.B. and A.M. at the University of Cincinnati. Later, he studied at the University of Michigan for two years, continued his work at the London School of Economics and received his Ph.D. from Columbia University in 1927.

While studying for the doctorate, Stern began his teaching at the City College of New York. After three years at the University of Washington in 1930 he joined the teaching staff at Columbia, where he remained until his death.

As assistant editor of *The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Stern exercised his gift

for condensing great quantities of factual material into compact systematic form. He was among the first to undertake sociological studies of medicine as a social institution, notably in his monographs, *Social Factors in Medicine* (1927), *American Medical Practice* (1945), and *Medicine in Industry* (1946). His other writings include *Lewis Henry Morgan* (1931); *The Family: Past and Present* (1938); *When Peoples Meet* (with Alain Locke, 1937); and *Outline of Anthropology* (with Melville Jacobs, 1947). At the time of his death, he had almost completed a comprehensive study of innovations in higher education which will surely, upon publication, enable us all to recognize once again his meticulous fidelity to high standards of scholarship.

As long-time secretary of the Eastern Sociological Society, he worked to help develop that association into one of the more viable regional societies in the country. Throughout the course of his editorship of *Science and Society*, he pursued the policy of publishing scholarly papers, many of which were not in the primarily Marxist tradition of that journal.

These are the bare facts of his life. Those of us who were fortunate enough to be his colleagues know how little these tell. We miss him greatly.

ROBERT K. MERTON

WILLIAM J. GOODE

Columbia University



African Studies Association. The newly established Association has elected Melville J. Herskovits, Northwestern University, as President. The organization is intended to service the needs and interests of individual scholars, university African programs and organizations concerned with Africa.

Gwendolen M. Carter, Smith College, was elected to the Vice Presidency. The Board of Trustees empowered to draft a constitution and administer Association affairs until the convening of the first annual meeting include: W. O. Brown, Boston University; Father John Considine, Maryknoll Seminary; (Secretary-Treasurer) L. Gray Cowan, Columbia University; Leonard Doob, Yale Univer-

sity; Franklin Frazier, Howard University; Walter Goldschmidt, University of California, Los Angeles; C. W. de Kiewiet, University of Rochester; and Vernon McKay, Johns Hopkins University.

American Association for the Advancement of Science. Raymond V. Bowers, Representative of the American Sociological Society to the AAAS reports that approximately 135, or 16 per cent, of the 708 members of Section K are full members of the American Sociological Society. Bowers is trying to compile a verified list of Fellows of the Association and would appreciate hearing from anyone who is a Fellow.

National Science Foundation. The Division of Biological and Medical Sciences of the Foundation announces that the next closing date for receipt of research proposals in the life sciences is September 15, 1957. Proposals received prior to that date will be reviewed at the Fall meetings of the Foundation's Advisory panels and disposition will be made approximately four months following the closing date. Proposals received after the September closing date will be reviewed following the Winter closing date of January 15, 1958. Inquiries should be addressed to National Science Foundation, Washington 25, D. C.

Applications will be accepted through September 3, 1957 for a second group of postdoctoral fellowships to be awarded during 1957, both in the Senior postdoctoral and regular postdoctoral programs. Names of successful fellowship candidates will be announced on October 16 and 17, 1957.

To be eligible for these awards, candidates must be citizens of the United States with special aptitude for advanced training and must hold the doctoral degree or have the equivalent in training or experience. In addition, candidates for the Senior postdoctoral program must have at least five years experience beyond the science doctorate. Annual stipends to a maximum of \$10,000, adjusted to match as closely as feasible the regular salaries of the award recipients, will be awarded under the Senior program, and the recipients of these awards will engage in study or research in an accredited nonprofit institution of higher learning in the United States or abroad. A limited allowance to aid in defraying costs of travel for a Fellow and his dependents will also be available.

A stipend of \$3800 per year will be awarded to successful applicants in the regular postdoctoral program. Dependency allowances will be made to married Fellows. A limited allowance to aid in defraying a Fellow's cost of travel will be paid as well as tuition and fees.

Applications and further details concerning the Senior postdoctoral program may be obtained from the Division of Scientific Personnel and Education, National Science Foundation, Washington 25, D. C.

Applications for the regular postdoctoral fellowships may be obtained by writing to the National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington 25, D. C.

Ohio Valley Sociological Society held its annual meeting in Columbus, April 26 and 27, 1957. The Presidential address was given by Edgar A. Schuler of Wayne State University on "The Doctorate in Sociology: Drift or Design?"

Officers elected for 1957-58 are: President, James E. Fleming, Kent State University; Vice-President, James B. McKee, University of Toledo; Secretary-Treasurer, Marvin B. Sussman, Western Reserve University; and Editor, *Ohio Valley Sociologist*, Robert P. Bullock, Ohio State University. Continuing as representative to the American Sociological Society is Raymond Sletto, Ohio State University.

A resolution was passed urging studies to clarify the role of the sociologist in contemporary society.

The Society accepted the invitation of the University of Cincinnati for the next annual meeting in 1958.

Social Science Research Council. The Washington Office of the Council was permanently closed at the end of July and the staff—Elbridge Sibley, Bryce Wood, and Joseph B. Casagrande—transferred to the main office at 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

The Council will again offer during the coming year predoctoral and postdoctoral research training fellowships, faculty research fellowships, and grants-in-aid of research to qualified applicants in all fields of social science. In addition, several continuing special programs of fellowships and research grants will support work relating to political theory and legal philosophy, national defense problems, American governmental processes, State politics, political groups in foreign areas, Slavic and East European studies. With the exception of research training fellowships which become available after fulfillment of all requirements prior to the thesis for the Ph.D. degree, awards are offered only to scholars of postdoctoral or equivalent status.

Two new programs—Senior research awards in American governmental affairs (Federal, State or local), and grants for research on the Near and Middle East—will be initiated. These are described in the June 1957 issue of *SSRC Items*.

A circular describing all of the foregoing and one or more additional programs for the coming year will be distributed as usual about the first of October, and application forms will then be available on request. Most types of awards will be made only once annually and applications should be filed no later than the closing dates for the respective categories. The earliest closing date will be November 1.

After August 1, inquiries concerning fellowships and grants should be directed to the New York address given above. When pertinent, brief indication of the inquirer's age, position, academic status, and type of support desired will be helpful.

Southwestern Sociological Society. Officers of the society for the year 1957-58 are as follows: President, Hiram Friedsam, North Texas State College; Vice President, Franz Adler, University of Arkansas; Secretary-Treasurer, Leonard Benson, North Texas State College; Sociology Editor of

the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Donald Stewart, University of Arkansas; Executive Committee Members, Sandor Kovacs, University of Tulsa, Walter Firey, University of Texas, Franz Adler, University of Arkansas, Austin Porterfield, Texas Christian University. Marion Smith, Louisiana State University, will serve as representative to the Council of the American Sociological Society.

The Department of Sociology at North Texas State College is sponsoring the publication of the 1957 *Proceedings* of the society. Leonard Benson and Byron Munson are serving as co-editors. Copies may be purchased for \$2.00 from the Secretary-Treasurer (Leonard Benson, Box 5524 NTS, Denton, Texas). Members of the American Sociological Society are encouraged to request their libraries to subscribe.

Brooklyn College. Alfred McClung Lee has been granted a leave for 1957-58 to serve as UNESCO Professor of Sociology at l'Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan. He is to develop there a university research center under the UNESCO program of technical assistance. After three terms as elected department chairman and in line with a departmental policy of rotation, Lee is to be succeeded as chairman by Rex D. Hopper.

The U. S. Department of State awarded Hopper a visiting professorship for the summer of 1957 in the National University of Paraguay at Asunción. Feliks Gross has been promoted to the professorship and Joseph Jablow to the assistant professorship.

The following are to be on sabbatical leave for 1957-58 in order to travel and to conduct research: Feliks Gross, Joseph Jablow, Samuel Koenig, and S. M. Miller. Gross has been appointed Fulbright lecturer in sociology at l'Università degli Studi di Roma. Jablow is to study the aboriginal land tenure of the Ponca Indians for the U. S. Department of Justice. Koenig is to lecture as visiting professor and to set up a department of sociology at Bar-Ilan University, Tel-Aviv. He will also make a study of the emerging culture patterns in Israel as a follow-up to the study he made in 1950-51 under an SSRC grant. Miller is to carry on research and writing concerning work and workers and to study techniques of evaluation as a sociological research tool.

Hugh H. Smythe has been granted a leave for 1957-58 in order to do anthropological field work in Nigeria under a Ford Foundation grant.

The following staff members are to be placed on continuing tenure September 1, 1957: Sidney Aronson, Gerald Henderson, and Hugh H. Smythe.

David W. McKinney, Jr., has been appointed Instructor. He has served for the past three years as a substitute.

Sylvia Fleis Fava received her Ph.D. from Northwestern University. She is participating in a graduate program on Metropolitan New York City at the City College.

Marion Cuthbert is to serve as Deputy Chairman of the department for the School of General Studies during the sabbatical leave of Koenig.

Irving Goldaber has been appointed Assistant

Director of New York City's Commission on Intergroup Relations. He was formerly Assistant Coordinator of the National Community Relations Advisory Council.

Brown University. Kurt B. Mayer has assumed the chairmanship of the Department of Sociology. He replaces Vincent H. Whitney, who has resigned as Chairman but continues as Professor of Sociology.

Harold W. Pfautz and Sidney Goldstein have been promoted to Associate Professors.

Robert O. Schulze has been promoted to Assistant Professor. Schulze taught during the summer in the extension program of the University of Michigan.

Surinder Mehta, of the University of Chicago, has been appointed Instructor.

Sidney Goldstein has been awarded a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council for a study of labor mobility in the Providence Metropolitan Area.

University of Buenos Aires. The Institute of Sociology is undertaking to establish a special section in its Library devoted to the contributions of scholars in the United States. Until recently, because of political conditions, Argentine sociologists have been completely denied access to the works of colleagues in the United States. The Institute asks the support of the members of the American Sociological Society. They could render a significant service if they would donate duplicate copies and earlier editions of books in their personal libraries. The Institute will gladly reimburse donors for the mailing costs. The books may be sent directly to Instituto de Sociología, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Calle Reconquista 694, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

University of California, Berkeley. Kingsley Davis will resume teaching in September following a year at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. He will also direct the International Urban Research Project.

Wolfram Eberhard will extend his leave of absence to January 1958 to continue his studies on village life in Pakistan.

Philip Selznick will resume his teaching in September following a year's absence as a Behavioral Science Fellow at the University of Chicago Law School.

Reinhard Bendix will be on leave during 1957-58 to continue his studies in the industrialization of underdeveloped areas.

Tamotsu Shibutani will be on leave during the current academic year.

Cesar Grana has resigned to accept a position in the College of the University of Chicago.

Leo Schnore of Michigan State University will join the department in September on a joint appointment with the School of Public Health.

Martin Trow of Bennington College has accepted a joint appointment in the Department of Education and the Department of Sociology and Social Institutions.

Lewis A. Coser of Brandeis University will be

a Visiting Associate Professor during 1957-58. Nathan Glazer will be Visiting Lecturer.

Erving Goffman of the National Institute of Mental Health will serve as Visiting Assistant Professor during the second semester.

Columbia University. The Bureau of Applied Social Research celebrated its 20th anniversary on April 26 and 27. The Bureau started as the "Office of Radio Research" at Princeton University with Paul F. Lazarsfeld as its first director. It moved to Columbia in 1940. By 1944 the research program of the Office had so far transcended the field of radio that the organization's name was changed to Bureau of Applied Social Research. Its present director, is Charles Y. Glock.

During the first decade the professional staff of the Bureau consisted of from 12 to 15 persons, two of whom held faculty appointments at Columbia. The staff today, in addition to the directors, includes 27 senior members, 12 of whom are also members of the Columbia faculty; 23 research assistants, "interns" and fellows, and an administrative staff of 16 persons. Although the staff is still drawn primarily from the field of sociology, appointments have been made in recent years from other fields.

The Florida State University. Ernest Q. Campbell is the recipient of a Social Science Research Council postdoctoral fellowship for training and research in social psychology at the Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University, beginning September, 1957. He taught at Vanderbilt University during the summer of 1957.

John L. Haer has accepted an appointment with the RAND Corporation, Santa Monica, California.

William F. Ogburn, who has been a Visiting Professor at the Indian School of International Studies, New Delhi, during 1956-57, will return as Visiting Professor the second semester, 1957-58.

University of Hawaii. Otomar J. Bartos, Ph.D. candidate, Yale University, has been appointed instructor in sociology.

Clarence E. Glick has returned after two years' leave. The first year was spent studying race relations in the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland under a grant from the Ford Foundation. During 1955-56, both Doris and Clarence Glick were Fulbright Fellows in India.

Bernhard L. Hormann, who had a polio attack in November, 1955, resumed his work in the department last September.

University of Kansas. The Kansas Basin Pilot Study of a Watershed, an interdepartmental effort sponsored jointly by Resources for the Future (Ford Foundation) and the University of Kansas, has been completed. E. Gordon Ericksen contributed the section on population.

William Delaney has resigned to accept a research position with the United States Information Service in Norway. Henrietta Cox has joined the staff as a part time instructor. Raymond P. Cuzzort

of the University of Chicago Population Research and Training Center will join the staff in September as Assistant Professor.

University of Kentucky. The Bureau of Community Service and the Department of Rural Sociology have recently conducted three-month, training courses in community development for 13 Pakistanis and 11 Indonesians.

The Commonwealth Fund has made a grant to the University for planning studies in connection with the new medical school and center to be opened in 1959. Part of the grant will be used for sociological studies under the direction of Robert Straus and Thomas R. Ford.

In collaboration with the Farm Population and Rural Life Branch, USDA, the Department of Rural Sociology is engaged in an extensive study of education in three low-income counties. John R. Christiansen and Sloan Wayland are study directors for the USDA, and the University is represented by Howard W. Beers and James S. Brown.

John Ball has been awarded a University Research Fund Grant for a study of juvenile delinquency.

Joy N. Query has been awarded a University of Kentucky Research Foundation Fellowship.

James W. Gladden was on sabbatic leave during the spring semester; he devoted his time to study of Negro family life and to human relations consultant work throughout the South for the National Student Y.M.C.A.

Buford Junker has accepted a position as research associate in the Administrative Science Center at the University of Pittsburg. John R. Christiansen has accepted a position at Brigham Young University. Gilbert Hardee has been appointed to the staff in rural sociology at North Carolina State College. James N. Young joined the staff at North Carolina State College in January.

Howard W. Beers is serving as part-time consultant to the USDA.

University of Maryland. Harold Hoffsommer went to Heidelberg, London, Paris, and other European centers to inspect the University of Maryland's European Sociology teaching program during November and December, 1956.

Peter P. Lejins has received a grant through the American Correctional Association to make a study of the eighty-seven years of the *Proceedings* of the Association. This study is further supported by a grant from the General Research Board of the University of Maryland. Constance M. Turney is research assistant on the project.

Edward DiBella has recently returned from studying at the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences at the University of Florence.

Wayne Rohrer and Margaret Cussler have received a grant jointly financed by the American Library Association and the Ford Foundation for Adult Education to conduct a pilot study of the library-community relationships in a rural county.

Charles H. Coates and Roland J. Pellegri (Louisiana State University) have received a two-year research appropriation from Russell Sage Foundation for the collection, analysis, and synthe-

sis of materials in the Social Sciences related to the field of Military Sociology.

Robert Hirzel represents Maryland on the Northeastern Population Project studying the influence of urban-industrial expansion on agriculture.

University of Missouri. Charles E. Lively received the Gamma Sigma Delta citation for outstanding service to agriculture for the year 1957.

The annual meeting of the American Country Life Association was held at the University of Missouri, July 15-16, 1957. Charles E. Lively was program chairman and Robert L. McNamara was in charge of local arrangements.

The Department has co-operated during the past year with the Union Electric Company in their program of community development. John S. Holik has major responsibility for the community development program and will teach a redesigned community course.

University of North Carolina. Gordon W. Blackwell, Kenan professor of sociology and Director of the Institute for Research in Social Science, has resigned to become Chancellor of the Woman's College of the University at Greensboro.

Daniel O. Price has been appointed to succeed Blackwell as Director of the Institute.

University of Pennsylvania. Thorsten Sellin was awarded an honorary LL.D. by the University of Upsala. He was also recently elected President of the International Society of Criminology.

Dorothy Swaine Thomas, who will return in September, is now serving as expert for the UN in the establishment in Bombay of a Research and Teaching Center in Demography. The Center will eventually have students and staff from all countries in the region of ECFA.

E. P. Hutchinson has been appointed Chairman of a research committee of the American Immigration Conference and Consultant, U. S. Census Bureau for Historical Statistics.

Otto Pollak has been engaged in a study under the auspices of the University Survey being conducted with the aid of a grant from the Samuel S. Fels Fund.

Everett S. Lee is Consultant to the Research Foundation on Mental Hygiene, Inc., and member of the Migration Differentials Committee, Social Science Research Council.

Marvin E. Wolfgang received a Fulbright Research Grant and a Guggenheim Fellowship for criminological research in Italy, 1957-58.

Norman Johnston is engaged in a research project in collaboration with Stow Symon, Supervising Sociologist with the Illinois State Penitentiary, Pontiac. The research is sponsored by the American Correctional Association and deals with current procedures of cell assignments and their implication for rehabilitation in adult correctional institutions.

Purdue University. Harold T. Christensen has been granted a Fulbright Award to do research on the Scandinavian family during the academic year 1957-58. He will be attached to the Sociological Institute, University of Copenhagen.

Gerald R. Leslie is returning from his year's

leave at Teachers College, Columbia University, and will be Acting Head of the Sociology Department during Christensen's absence.

The leave of Dwight W. Culver has been extended for another year so that he can continue as Executive Director of the Panel of Americans, Inc.

Gerald R. Leslie and Robert L. Eichhorn have been advanced to the ranks of Professor and Associate Professor, respectively.

This past year Eichhorn has supervised the survey phase of the Purdue Cardiac Project, a study designed to determine some of the social and psychological factors related to successful adjustment to cardiac impairment.

Four new staff positions have been filled as follows: Irving Rosow, who has recently been directing research in the Nuffield Project, Belmont Hospital, England, is joining the staff to teach and develop research in the areas of urban-industrial and occupational sociology. Leonard Breen, who has recently been director of the Criteria of Aging Project, University of Chicago, will have the responsibility for the field of gerontology. Eugene Kanin is joining the department as Instructor in marriage and family relations. Janice Partridge has become a part-time Instructor to assist with the marriage course.

Warren S. Thompson was Visiting Professor in population during the spring semester of 1957.

James Beshers has received a grant from the Purdue Research Foundation to study patterns of internal population migration in Indiana.

The annual meeting of the National Council on Family Relations will be held on the campus on August 21-24. Edward Z. Dager was local arrangements chairman.

Temple University. Claude C. Bowman represented the American Sociological Society at the Centennial Convocation of the National Educational Association in Philadelphia on July 3. He has been named as representative of the Eastern Sociological Society on the Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics. Bowman will be on sabbatical leave during the first semester, 1957-58.

Wayne State University. Edgar A. Schuler, Department Chairman, is on sabbatical leave, 1957-58, in Thailand as a Fulbright Scholar, attached to Thammasat University in Bangkok. Donald C. Marsh is Acting Chairman in his absence.

Harold L. Sheppard, also on a sabbatical, is in France as a Fulbright Scholar. He has been appointed American member of the subcommittee on Industrial Sociology of the International Sociological Association.

Robert L. Fulton has received an appointment at the University of Wisconsin. William A. Faunce received a joint appointment in the Michigan State University Department of Sociology and Labor and Industrial Relations Center.

Alvin Rose, Visiting Lecturer for 1956-57, has been appointed Associate Professor. Laurene Wallace joined this Department as Instructor, coming from a position at Alabama Polytechnic Institute.

H. Warren Dunham returned from the Netherlands, and Edward C. Jandy from Pakistan, after

serving as Fulbright Scholars. Stephen Cappannari returned from a Visiting Lectureship in the Anthropology Department at the University of California, Berkeley. Frank Hartung taught at the summer session of Washington University and participated in a seminar at the Frederick H. Moran Institute, St. Lawrence University.

Leonard W. Moss is collaborating with Eugenio del Monte, University of Rome, in a study of the village of Fumone.

Mel Ravitz was Director of the Summer Workshop in Human Relations, in co-operation with various national and community inter-group relations agencies.

Richard A. Waterman taught in the 1957 summer session at the University of Michigan.

Helen Hause and Arnold Pilling have joined the staff, offering courses in Anthropology.

Albert J. Mayer has been appointed Director of the Detroit Area Continuing Traffic Study. He has also received a Faculty Research Grant from the SSRC to continue a study of Race Relations in Private Housing.

The Department has become an active part of the newly created joint Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations of Wayne State University and the University of Michigan, with offices in Detroit and Ann Arbor.

BOOK REVIEWS



Integrity and Compromise: Problems of Public and Private Conscience. Edited by R. M. MACIVER. New York: The Institute for Religious and Social Studies, 1957. 150 pp. Distributed by Harper and Brothers. \$2.50.

Aspects of Human Equality. Fifteenth Symposium. Edited by LYMAN BRYSON, CLARENCE H. FAUST, LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, and R. M. MACIVER. New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, Inc., 1956. viii, 431 pp. Distributed by Harper and Brothers. \$5.00.

These two symposia should be of considerable interest to all sociologists interested in the place of value orientations in social life. The writers in both books grapple with the dilemmas of moral choice and the function of shared values in such choice in concrete, historically particularized, social situations. In the first volume, *Integrity and Compromise*, the authors give accounts of concrete moral dilemmas in which they have found themselves and of the ways in which they have resolved such dilemmas. The situation in which these accounts were given, a series of luncheon addresses, placed severe limits on the depth and solidity of the narratives. Yet the complexity of moral choice in concrete problematic situations is clearly revealed. The abstractions of status and expected role, while relevant to these accounts, are not sufficient for an adequate description of choice and action in such situations, nor do they suffice as analytical tools for a thorough explanation of what occurs. Sociologists will find that if they deal with such materials, new concepts in the area of evaluation analysis will be necessary. If this volume accomplishes nothing else for sociologists, it should serve to recall their attention to the fact that status-role analysis is highly abstract and must be combined with other theoretical formulations if the density and complexity of social life is to be grasped.

The second volume, *Aspects of Human Equality*, serves to reinforce this impression in a somewhat different manner. In these essays theologians, historians, philosophers, sociologists, and anthropologists examine the place of the value "equality" in American social life. Two of the essays, "The Levellers" by William

Haller and "Equality in the American Setting" by Perry Miller, are primarily historically oriented. In these essays the norm of equality is seen as being rooted in the doing and thinking of men in concrete social situations involving conflicts of interest as well as socially ordered action. It appears as a highly dynamic cultural element reflecting the interests of men and yet existing in a state of tension with them. It is anchored in the actor's conception of a non-empirical world and is utopian in the sense that its claim for the equality of men in some non-empirical yet essential sense produces empirical tensions in the consciences of dominant groups and the claims of subordinate groups that cannot be resolved by changes in empirical social structures. Yet it has empirical consequences in relation to the modification of such structures. This picture of the role of the norm of equality is made possible through the use by the authors of general categories for the sake of illuminating and analyzing the concrete historical individual.

Most of the other essays use the categories of their disciplines to modify the image of the empirical possibilities of achieving equality and to scale down the claims of the norm to make them more in keeping with the image of social reality contained in their abstract categories. In this process there is a false identification of general categories and their systematic interrelations with the actual social and historical life of man. Because of this the content of the equality norm is eroded to the point that all that is left is a meaning of the term compatible with the image of reality of the particular discipline, a meaning that has little to do with the meaning of the normative concept in the mind of the actors who have internalized it within the process of history.

The most interesting illustration of this devaluation of the normative concept for sociologists is found in the sociological essay by Alfred Schutz on "Equality and the Meaning Structure of the Social World." In this essay the author presents first a carefully worked out theoretical picture of the social world using the concepts with which all sociologists are familiar, and then examines what the concept of equality can mean within a world so portrayed. The place of the norm of equality when interpreted by actors as stating the essen-

tial if not empirical equality of all men as standing in a state of tension with all the inequality-creating forces in society is not examined. Even the modified norm of equality of opportunity—the historical form that emptying the equality concept of its non-empirical content has produced—is rejected as being incompatible with the sociological picture of human reality. "It should not . . . be so interpreted that the effect of its realization would be to provide 'an equal start for everyone.' Most of the authors dealing with this problem have referred to many factors that make an equal start impossible." All that is left of the value when Professor Schutz is through is the "... maximum of self-realization which his situation in the social reality permits."

This sociological interpretation of the equality norm is another contribution to the emerging vocabulary of American value terms defined within the theoretical frame of reference of sociology. It takes its place, for example, along side the definition of freedom given by Arthur K. Davis in his review of Nisbet's *Quest for Community* [*American Sociological Review*, 18 (August, 1953), pp. 443-444], where Davis states: "A sociological definition of freedom . . . would run more like this: freedom is a subjective feeling of personal well being which results from the objective fact of living in an effectively functioning society. A society functions effectively to the degree that its social structure is integrated, that it successfully meets its problems of internal and external change, that it socializes new members, satisfies or reconciles their needs and expectations, etc. The point is that a number of concrete patterns of societal organization can meet this abstract definition of freedom. It is entirely possible that among them is Nisbet's bogey, the totalitarian community—once the latter has been stabilized or routinized."

The consequences of such a vocabulary once it is employed by actors as well as by observers seem plain. Before this happens, however, it may not be too late for sociologists to inquire further into the problem. Is it the historical meanings of such terms as "equality" and "freedom" that are sociologically meaningless and parochial? Or have we, as sociologists, been over-hasty in identifying our concepts with social reality and too smug in believing that our concepts more adequately describe the world than did the implicit social and psychological concepts of those who in the struggles of history created and gave rich content to the value vocabulary of the West?

WILLIAM L. KOLB

Tulane University

Problems of Power in American Democracy.

Edited by ARTHUR KORNHAUSER. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1957. xii, 239 pp. \$5.00.

The papers comprising this volume are the Leo M. Franklin Memorial Lectures delivered at Wayne State University in 1955. Five distinguished social scientists, Professors Robert S. Lynd, Harold D. Lasswell, A. H. Maslow, C. Wright Mills and Arthur Kornhauser, address themselves to various aspects of the relationship of power and democracy in American society. It is my regretful conclusion that these essays, insofar as they deal directly with the "problem of power," do little to clarify this exceedingly difficult subject.

"... While power and the power structure of society are central to sociology, no concept is more troublesome as to what it means," thus Lynd paraphrases Bierstedt. Surely no one can take exception to this statement. Accordingly there is here a need for hard, clear theoretical thinking and an even greater need for instruments to translate the theory into empirical operations.

To be sure, it is not the purpose of a series of lectures to deal with highly technical problems of measurement. However, it is not too much to expect a systematic statement of the theoretical issues and perhaps even some hypotheses. But Lynd's essay is a plea for the use of power to achieve democratic ends. One is once more confronted by the age old problem, *quis custodiet ipsos custodes*. Lasswell, speaking of the deterioration of democracy under crisis conditions, proposes as a remedy "great and continuing campaigns of civic education" and the employment of "the media of mass communication on an unprecedented scale." This despite accumulating evidence concerning the dubious effectiveness of mass communications in such campaigns. Maslow reviews much of the psychological and group dynamics literature dealing with authoritarian and democratic personality development and concludes that a democratic socialization process is appropriate and necessary for a democratic society. In effect these three papers seem to be saying that Good Conditions require Good Men and Good Men require Good Conditions.

Mills' paper is drawn largely from the first chapter of his book, *The Power Elite*. Like much of his work it is an exciting and provocative performance. There is in this essay a conception of a power structure, a conception worthy of further exploration. Kornhauser ably discusses the somewhat more narrowly defined question of the role of the social scientist in relation to power factors. He reminds us of

"a disturbing tendency for social science to be pressed into activities that are unduly restricted and disproportionately oriented toward the interests of powerful organizations and administrative elites."

On the whole, though, this reader is left with the feeling that these are impressions and exhortations which restate once more the ancient dilemmas of democracy, often extremely well, but do little more.

H. W. BRUCK

Northwestern University

Social Class and Educational Opportunity. Edited by J. E. FLOUB, A. H. HALSEY, and F. M. MARTIN. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1956. xix, 152 pp. 12/6.

Following D. V. Glass' *Social Mobility in Britain* a number of investigations into specialized aspects of mobility have been developed at the London School of Economics and Political Science. *Social Class and Educational Opportunity* is the latest monograph from this group of studies. In studying the working-class child's chances of entering grammar school the authors have produced an admirable report of carefully conceived and executed research, simply and methodically reported, with conclusions cautiously presented.

The grammar school was chosen for study because of its crucial position on the path of upward mobility. In Britain the grammar schools and the exclusive "public" schools train the potential elite, while other kinds of secondary schools offer the graduate little prospect of anything but a life of manual or minor clerical work. Admission to the publicly supported grammar schools is now entirely based on selection examinations administered to children at the completion of their primary schooling. The present investigation was designed to assess the effectiveness of the selection procedure against its avowed purpose of opening all grammar school places solely on the basis of ability without respect to social origin.

The investigators selected two areas for study, a relatively prosperous community near London and an industrial section in the North of England. From school records they trace the changing class composition of the grammar schools from about the turn of the century. However, the meat of the book is a study of the most recent entrants, taking into account I.Q., social background, and selected information on family and living conditions. While grammar school entrants are still recruited disproportionately from middle and higher classes, the problem was to find out to what extent this phenomenon reflects the differential incidence of high intelligence among the different classes.

The most general conclusion is that, to the extent to which I.Q. is a valid measure of innate intelligence, children of equal capacity now have equal chances of entering grammar school, irrespective of social class background. With social class held constant, membership in a large family mitigates against selection for grammar school. The significance of home environment (apart from social class), parents' education and attitude toward schooling, and the quality of the primary school attended, is variable though probably minor. The relation of the latter variables to intelligence has not been fully explored. Finally, the impact of social class appears later in the education ladder, with too few working class children entering the sixth form and continuing to the universities.

It is interesting to note that the senior author, who is already on record as opposed to present selection procedures, has probably produced the strongest testimony for their defense. Aside from proving the authors' objectivity, this outcome suggests a major pitfall in applied research. Liberal Britains who are disturbed by the contemporary selection procedures frequently allow themselves to be diverted from the philosophical assumptions underlying the system by arguments over whether the system works as it is supposed to. Thus the authors of this work speak repeatedly of "social waste," without considering whether this can be a prime value in democratic society. They speak of early school leaving as a "problem" without clarifying sufficiently why it should be regarded as a problem, and without asking whether the features of British society that make it a problem might better be attacked than early leaving itself. Furthermore, the authors lodge no protest against the underlying assumption of British education, that a uni-dimensional type of capacity distinguishes the potential elite from others. Like American liberals who for a generation were sidetracked into debates over relative white and Negro intelligence, perhaps British liberals are unwittingly conceding their opponents' strongest points by devoting their major energies to the issues as the latter see them.

Aside from its major query, this volume provides a mine of data on social stratification in Britain, with much useful tabular material. The authors are investigating the interrelationship of social background and intelligence and grammar school performance in a follow-up study of the same children, which promises to answer some of the questions raised in the present volume.

RALPH H. TURNER

University of California, Los Angeles

Loyalty in America. By JOHN H. SCHAAR. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957. x, 217 pp. \$3.50.

Mr. Schaar defines his own work as a study in the "philosophy of loyalty" as distinguished from the "politics of loyalty." His philosophic net is cast widely. He discusses (1) "the psychology and sociology of loyalty"; (2) political loyalty in its various forms as distinguished from other types of loyalty; (3) "the historical development of political loyalty in the United States"; (4) the "modern issue" of loyalty as typified by the national government's loyalty investigation program; (5) the contemporary, as opposed to the historical, notion of the meaning of loyalty; and finally (6) the role of loyalty in a "mass democracy."

Whatever the deficiencies of the volume, it should be said immediately that young Mr. Schaar (his book was originally a doctoral dissertation at the University of California) is a person who has read widely, who writes fluidly, and who confronts himself with important issues. His book has both an intellectual and stylistic attractiveness, partially as a consequence of his willingness to consider any and all problems and his gracefulness in commenting upon them.

Mr. Schaar performs a useful task in documenting the historical changes in the meaning of American national loyalty from the rational eighteenth century ideal that left great room for other loyalties existing alongside national loyalty to the more contemporary demand that challenges the older pluralism by requiring other allegiances to be subordinate to a more inclusively defined national allegiance. This analysis admirably highlights changes in popular conceptions and yet also demonstrates that dominant definitions of today have strong roots in the thought of earlier American periods. Though by no means original, the historical analysis has at least the virtues of basic documentation, internal consistency, logical development and enough detail to make it persuasive.

At virtually every other point, these virtues are conspicuously absent. In some cases, Mr. Schaar's difficulties are the result of trying to do too much with too little preparation and background: in one fourteen page section, for example (pp. 91-114), he tries to state, analyze and comment upon a whole history of social change in the past 200 years. Here, and elsewhere, the total effect produced is a pastiche of undigested theory, illustrated with a spate of overconvenient quotations.

More fundamentally, Mr. Schaar's difficulties spring from a too-easy acceptance of the evidence that seems to fit the general line of his analysis. He accepts altogether uncritically, for

example, the theory that family life has disintegrated in the twentieth century and that modern society is predominantly one of anomie and political massness. Some of the very people he quotes to make these points (David Riesman, for example) would take exception to this line of reasoning; and there is plenty of evidence in statistics and the literature, of which Mr. Schaar seems unaware, that the picture is by no means as clear-cut as he seems to believe. It might, indeed be the exact opposite as far as family life is concerned.

A final and overwhelming difficulty also springs from immaturity. Mr. Schaar has defined his work as one in philosophy, and philosophers are merchants of solutions that encourage the good. Mr. Schaar indicates that he does not like some of the aspects of national loyalty that are dominant today. If he were a more mature social scientist, he might have not been so overly-impressed with surface data and easy analysis. And if he were a more mature philosopher he might have faced even displeasing social data with analyses suggesting avenues toward a more highly valued end. But he does neither. Rather to the disappointment of at least this reader, he is content to postulate the idea that our civilization is approximating Rousseau's description of a state in which the "general will" predominates, "really a theory of orthodoxy." (Some respectable commentators of Rousseau will cry foul.) And he ends his book on the utterly un-philosophical and completely banal note that "loyalty is Janus-faced . . . no age can provide the final solution to the problem of loyalty."

This is too harsh a note on which to close a review. I do not believe that Mr. Schaar has produced a successful book. But there are ample indications of high talent in it. We can look forward to real achievements from its author in the future.

MORTON GRODZINS

University of Chicago

Individuals, Groups, and Economic Behavior. By C. ADDISON HICKMAN and MANFORD H. KUHN. New York: The Dryden Press, 1956. xvii, 266 pp. \$4.75.

Hickman and Kuhn have set out to demonstrate what can be accomplished by applying social psychology to economic problems. They rely on self theory to deal with three issues: "the nature and effect of managerial motivation, the feasibility of making 'interpersonal comparisons' of utility or satisfaction, and . . . whether economic planning and human freedom are compatible."

Of the three issues treated, managerial moti-

vation is handled most successfully. The authors review the approaches of economists and business observers, develop the implications of self theory for the problem, and marshal evidence for their approach from scattered studies.

In discussing the compatibility of planning and freedom, the authors' major contribution is to clarify the issue by pointing out the necessity of distinguishing between the economists' and the public's conceptions of these terms. They rightly contend that the social psychologists' study of the latter would contribute to answering the question of compatibility.

The discussion of interpersonal comparison of satisfaction was, to me, the least satisfying of the substantive issues discussed. Hickman and Kuhn contend "that differences in individual patterns of satisfaction are derived from the differential value systems (ideologies) of the groups with which individuals feel identified (reference groups)." Even granting this formulation, the question of the possibility of comparing personal satisfactions is not solved unless indices valid for comparing value systems among groups can be constructed. The authors, as in the planning and freedom discussion, could well analyze the undifferentiated aspects of the comparability of personal satisfactions controversy. They make some relevant suggestions for such an analysis, indicating again that a major contribution that social psychologists could make is to reformulate some of the questions posed by economists.

The book is directed principally to economists and deserves their consideration. I would also recommend it to sociologists and social-psychologists for two reasons. First, it directs our attention to substantive areas of significance that should be the subject of social psychological investigation. Second, the consistent use of self theory would seem to make it possible to test deductions from this theory. Unfortunately, the book is not completely satisfactory in this regard. There are suggestions for research and some hypotheses derived from self theory; but often these are not sufficiently precise. This is because the authors are less interested in presenting a program for research and testing of self theory than in arguing for the applicability of social psychology and self theory to economic questions. They make a good case, but at times this leads to a doctrinaire tone and oversimplification of some problems. One can only hope that this will serve the authors' intentions "to excite methodological curiosity, exploration, and criticism."

LOUIS KRIESBERG

Fulbright Research Scholar
Universität Köln

The Values of Veblen: A Critical Appraisal.
By BERNARD ROSENBERG. Foreword by MAX
LERNER. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs
Press, 1956. ix, 127 pp. \$2.50.

"The Values of Veblen" may signify either the values of Veblen the man, or the values he discovered in the societies he examined, mainly the American society of his day. Relative to Veblen, the dilemma is of great importance, since he strongly disliked the social values of his environment. This is emphasized by Professor Rosenberg in the first chapter of his book, which is entitled "The Stranger" and demonstrates that four of the five characteristics of the stranger as outlined by G. Simmel in his *Soziologie* "apply directly and absolutely to Veblen."

In this reviewer's opinion, the author has not clearly chosen between the alternatives. The individual chapters are devoted to surveys of Veblen's works in chronological order, which would point to the choice of the second alternative. But one of Veblen's last works, *The Higher Learning in America*, is treated ahead of the other ones and declared to be of decisive importance; the author lets us understand that he will substantiate his statement at a later place. This he actually does in the Conclusion, but the explanation is disappointing: bureaucracy is "the main datum with which Veblen works" and nowhere better exposed than in that work where "the trained incapacity" of the college administrators is displayed; these administrators belong to the business class, Veblen's public enemy No. 1. The chronological sequence is once again interrupted in Chapter V, entitled "The Three Titans"; there, the author lets us understand that "as a figure in the history of thought Veblen stands equi-distant between Marx and Weber," although "there is no indication that Veblen knew Weberian sociology." Taken as a whole, the sequence of chronological chapters gives a pointed and well written account of the content of Veblen's works. On many occasions, excursions in later developments are made to check whether Veblen did or did not foresee them, and his works are confronted with those of later authors. Rosenberg asserts that the core of Veblen's ideas on the American social and economic system has been extrapolated and substantiated by A. Berle and G. Means while, in his opinion, J. Burnham's views only complicate Veblen's insight into the separation of "malign pecuniary interests" (business) and "benign industrial interests" (production).

As to Veblen's personal value system, only scattered statements show up. He is presented as an "erratic anarchist" predicting however the

coming of socialistic, but scrupulously democratic order. His main enemies (negative values) were the businessman (in contradistinction to the engineer or the technician) and the bureaucrat. He hated fraternities; sports were anathema to him. He had great respect for the Christian ethic of brotherhood and self sacrifice, but strongly disliked organized religion. He was in favor of total rationalization. It is true that he explained a large part of social actuality by reference to instincts; but, for Veblen, "instinct . . . involves consciousness and adaptation to an end aimed at." Therefore, he should not be counted among theorists subscribing to instinct psychology.

In general, this is a stimulating book, worth while reading by those interested in the history of ideas. It is regrettable that there is no index and that, whenever French words appear (for which there was no necessity whatsoever), they are misspelled.

N. S. TIMASHEFF

Fordham University

Theories of Personality. By CALVIN S. HALL and GARDNER LINDZEY. New York: John Wiley and Sons; London: Chapman and Hall, 1957. xi, 572 pp. \$6.50.

There is probably no publication in which one may find better brief but complete and clear summaries of the distinctive systematic views of such influential psychological contributors as Freud, Jung, Adler, Fromm, Horney, Sullivan, Murray, Lewin, Gordon Allport, Kurt Goldstein, Angyal, Maslow, W. H. Sheldon, Eysenck, Raymond Cattell, the Hull-Dollard-Miller group, Carl Rogers, and Gardner Murphy. In each case the materials are representative and presented with outstanding clarity and skill in condensation. In view of the scatter and volume of the original writings by these authors, a handsome gift of efficiency is presented to the reader who lacks time to explore the massive literature.

The authors expected some criticism, especially of omissions, and offer in the preface an explanation of their failure to present the views of McDougall, Guthrie, Tolman, and others. No mention is made of a more spectacular neglect—that of the sociological tradition stimulated by Dewey, Cooley, Mead, Thomas, and others, as vigorous today in research and systematic writings among social psychologists as over the past forty years. Mead, to be sure, is summarized in two paragraphs—half a page—as a detail of the chapter on the "Self Theory" of Carl Rogers. This arresting avoidance appears to be the consequence of simple ignorance,

but as such reflects an excessive introversion of scholarship.

Cultish ways of prominent system-builders in psychology have been often criticized. Hall and Lindzey, however, appear to approve of and even admire such egocentricities. More serious, they explicitly encourage the student to be doctrinaire (pp. 556-57): "Let the individual be enthusiastic and imbued with the theory before he commences to examine it critically. . . . It will dictate problems to the devotee and stimulate him to do research but it will not do the same for the cool and detached observer. Let the student reserve his critical capacity . . . let him immerse himself in one theory of personality. Wallow in it, revel in it, absorb it, learn it thoroughly, and think that it is the best possible way to conceive of behavior. Only reserve in one small corner of his mind the reservation that the final crucible for any theory is the world of reality studied under controlled conditions." Shall we also advise the judge of a beauty contest to fall in love with one of the contestants before making comparisons, while reserving in one small corner of his mind the reservation that there could be others more deserving of the prize? All human tendency entices us to embrace doctrines with enthusiasm, yet there is hardly any principle more thoroughly established in human psychology than that the ablest of persons can rationalize a system of absurdities if he holds it enthusiastically in common with a set of colleagues.

Like the butcher's thumb on the scales, the authors' fulsome admiration magnifies the stature of the heroes of the volume. In this "great man" concept of science, Freud is "towering" and, among other things, is "patient, meticulous, disciplined." Jung is "one of the greatest living thinkers," and has "one of the most far-reaching and penetrating minds in modern psychology." Lewin is spoken of as "one of the most brilliant figures in contemporary psychology." Gordon Allport and Henry Murray are said to possess "brilliant writing styles," in spite of numerous counterexamples appearing in the sections given to their views. (Would Bacon's ghost think of this *ex officio* eloquence as Idols of the Yard?)

Dust in the eyes obstructs scientific judgment and permits common-places to stand for originality, thin tautologies to seem like logical feats, neologisms to appear as discoveries. Wallowing and reveling, and adoration of the giants weakens the already fragile critical capacity of the human. The book would be much stronger if it warned against temptation rather than advising us to yield. Aside from the eval-

uative parts, however, there is a valuable set of well organized summaries of systems we can judge for ourselves.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

University of Washington

The Validation of Scientific Theories. Edited with an introduction, by PHILIPP G. FRANK. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1956. xi, 242 pp. \$4.00.

The papers included in this volume are the outgrowth of a conference organized by the Institute for the Unity of Science to study the validation of scientific theories. Sponsored by the National Science Foundation in cooperation with the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, philosophers, physicists, psychologists and historians of various persuasions discussed their viewpoints at the 1953 annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Most of the participants seem to be in general agreement on the following theses. (1) Scientific theories are often accepted for other than logical reasons. They support desirable social behavior or serve as instruments of indoctrination or are compatible with common sense experience or effect an economy of thought. (2) Science is not only an instrument for shaping events that are desired but should function in this capacity. Frank explicitly mentions the "sociological" purpose of guiding human conduct. Churchman speaks of the criteria of policy decisions, ways in which values can be assigned by science to objectives. Rudner points out that the scientist must make value judgments since he must always decide on the strength of evidence for accepting hypotheses and these decisions depend upon the seriousness of making mistakes. (3) Operationalism is vulnerable on the major count that it fails to recognize the role of rational constructs apart from vocabularies of observation. In this connection Margenau emphasizes the importance of constitutive definitions and metaphysical rules, Bergmann of axiomatic calculi, Seeger of heuristic propositions and Grünbaum of extrapolation. Hempel discusses the problem in greater detail: The specification of the meanings of nonobservational terms in science resembles the implicit definitions of the primitives of an axiomatized theory by its postulates. Since some of the primitives may include observational terms that are antecedently understood, they effect a partial specification of meaning for the remaining nonobservational terms. Thus it is pointless to ask for the operational definition of any one theoretical term. Explicit definition by use of observables is not gen-

erally available and operational meaning can be attributed only to the set of all the non-observational terms functioning in a given theory. Notable instances of symbolic structures that cannot be operationalized include the counterfactual conditionals of nomological laws and the theoretically permissible values of a mathematical continuum.

In discussing psychoanalysis, a field as far apart from the physical sciences as any in this day and age, both E. Frenkel-Brunswick and B. F. Skinner express concern over the role of inner dispositions or determiners, for instance, infantile sexuality, anxiety, guilt, repression, etc., in scientific theory. Both emphasize the significance of social and other kinds of conditioning influences on the individual but Skinner is more critical of Freud's neglect of the behavior of the organism. He would like to see greater attention given to "the explicit shaping of behavioral repertoires under childhood circumstances." Whereas Frenkel-Brunswick accepts the scientists' view that intervening variables are not exhaustible by observational statements Skinner regards such variables as no better than convenient metaphors or useful analogies. Discussing the same general topic, Richfield reminds us that questions about the nature of science are not like scientific questions about the nature of (abstract) bodies and their functions but involve "some combination of sociological, semantic, ethical, logical, epistemological, and historical facts and values."

To explore differences between the physical sciences and the life sciences in respect to criteria for the acceptance of theories, the conference devoted a session to the topic, "Organism and Machine." Köhler contends that the organism would be a machine only if the behavior of all its parts were prescribed by special anatomical devices. Rashevsky holds that within a sharply circumscribed range the concept of a machine as a structure isomorphic to certain organisms, or parts thereof, is useful. Representing the more extreme viewpoint is McCulloch's declaration that "everything we learn of organisms leads us to conclude not merely that they are analogous to machines, but that they are machines."

The final section of the book deals with "Science as Social and Historical Phenomena," a topic familiar to many sociologists.

Taken as a whole, this volume will provide the inquiring reader with a brief introduction to the main problems which have, in recent years, occupied the attention of philosophers of science. Because of the volume's brevity, however, the serious student would do well to

read the basic writings of its leading contributors, where almost all of the issues discussed herein are pursued with greater industry.

LLEWELLYN GROSS

University of Buffalo

Some Potentialities of Experimental Jurisprudence as a New Branch of Social Science. By FREDERICK K. BEUTEL. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1957. xvii, 440 pp. \$6.00.

Part I of this book explores some of the possibilities and problems of applying the scientific method to the study of legal controls. Two essentials for progress in this research are suggested: (1) attacks on simple, limited problems, and (2) the combined attention of relevant experts. When limited conclusions can be broadened to "Jural Laws" (statements of the effects of enacting particular types of law), predictability in legal control becomes possible. The author is unconcerned about whether the resulting knowledge is considered part of sociology, part of political science, or classified in some other manner; but he believes that, "... law is a social phenomenon and that any science of law and the reactions surrounding it must necessarily be a social science" (pp. 16-17).

Experimental study is said to begin when the researcher, using "Jural Laws," suggests the enactment of changes in a given law. "Experimental Jurisprudence" is seen as an applied science, analogous to such research as study of the effects of polio vaccine. The author desires reform in all branches of law, based on scientific findings, but the legislative process is emphasized. The arguments for research and reform are buttressed with illustrations of pre-scientific assumption in our law.

Part II is mainly a report of a non-experimental study of the bad-check problem. The objective was, "to discover the extent to which bad checks interfered with the functioning of the business community and the effectiveness of the criminal law in dealing with the dislocation created by bad-check writers" (p. 226). The effects of both civil and criminal laws were studied. The research was conducted by the author (apparently a law professor), a lawyer-sociologist, an economist, and a political scientist. Questionnaires, interviews, and various records were used to obtain information about bad-check phenomena from a random sample of business men, legal officials and governmental units. The author presents the study as very tentative, recognizing that the design might have been more rigorous. Despite its shortcomings, the study was imaginative and care-

ful, and it provides a good example of the potential of "Experimental Jurisprudence."

The longest chapter in the book reports the results of the study. It is an important contribution to knowledge about the bad-check problem and bad-check writers. Criminologists will be interested in the tables showing that the bad-check artists were generally habitual offenders, and the evidence that the criminal law penalty does not seem to act as a deterrent. The final two chapters extend the findings to some tentative "Jural Laws," and suggest amendments in the bad-check laws.

Sociologists will find this book readable and suggestive. Questions will be raised about the discussions of values, needs, the nature of experiments, the role of the investigator, *post-factum* interpretation, and perhaps other matters. The author invites constructive criticism and considers his study exploratory. Writers of sociological jurisprudence and legal realism have often exhorted others to make empirical studies of the legal system; this book is both exhortation and demonstration.

F. JAMES DAVIS

Hamline University

Sociology and the Field of Corrections. Prepared for the American Sociological Society by LLOYD E. OHLIN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956. 58 pp. Fifty cents, paper.

The bulletin reviewed here, as brief as it is, is a significant contribution to sociology. Dr. Ohlin shows, again, that criminology and corrections are sociology and that the sociologist has an important and unique contribution to make in respect to them. In the Foreword Wellman J. Warner says that one of the tasks of this bulletin "is to make a brief and tough-minded appraisal of what sociologists have and have not done in the field of corrections." But its main function is to locate crucial opportunities for sociologists. Dr. Ohlin has fulfilled this main function most adequately.

The first five chapters are devoted to specifying the field of corrections, organizational aspects of the penal system, the penal culture, social-psychological aspects of prison life, and probation and parole. Ohlin shows that the penal institution constitutes a complex socio-cultural system that provides an opportunity to investigate many types of sociological problems. He also shows that penology, considered as an administrative application of organizational and behavioral principles, cannot be developed unless more extensive analyses of correctional institutions are undertaken. "The striking fact from a sociological standpoint is

that penal institutions represent genuine laboratories for social research hitherto unexploited. They afford a set of controlled conditions, which are impossible to duplicate in other avenues of social life, for social experiments" (p. 11).

One may say that there is perhaps no better setting than that of the prison for the scientific study of the relationships of personality and culture. What are the conditions under which a prisoner does or does not assimilate the prison culture? What types of individuals assume what types of roles in the primary social organization of the prisoners? How are the "informal" social organizations of inmates and staff articulated with each other?

Probably the major contribution of Ohlin's bulletin is the theoretical application of sociological and social-psychological concepts to the field of corrections. He uses, for example, such terms as social system, the formation of cliques, personal value-systems, the concept of self, collective behavior, community, and culture. His use of these concepts indicates that the bulletin should be of use in advancing knowledge in sociology, as well as being practically helpful in planning research and developing training programs in the field of corrections.

FRANK E. HARTUNG

Wayne State University

Demographic Analysis: Selected Readings. Edited by JOSEPH J. SPENGLER and OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956. xiii, 819 pp. \$9.50.

The editors' stated purpose is to present readings exemplifying "the work of the research demographer dealing with delimited concrete problems." In preparing the collection the editors deliberately avoided duplicating (a) available population methodology volumes, and (b) a companion volume designed to examine demographic analyses for implications for social organization and change. The editors have done their chosen task well. The collection is a very worthwhile addition.

Readings of this type have many useful purposes. The editors feel that theirs can be used as a text or as a resource book in supplementation of standard texts in demography. The reviewer has had an opportunity to observe class use of the volume and feels that its use as a single text would be difficult because the content has been restricted to limited problems. This has meant that the broad over-view type of article has been largely omitted. Two devices have partially overcome the integration problem. The editors have an enlightening series of comments at the beginning of each chapter.

They have also thoughtfully supplied a supplementary bibliography organized under the same headings as the chapters. This allows a reader to pursue a given topic more intensively.

More than sixty well selected articles have been included. The first chapter deals with past and prospective growth and distribution of world population, tracing the growth and spread of populations in Europe and Asia from Roman to modern times, and from 1650 to 1950 for the world. Prospects of growth for the next fifty years are discussed along with an evaluation of the pitfalls in population forecasting.

The second chapter on mortality considers the use of life tables, longevity trends, and conditions affecting life expectancy. There are comparative world data since 1850 and an analysis of United States trends during the same period. Among analyses of conditions affecting life expectancy is one on social class variations in England and Wales.

The fertility chapter takes up the influence of economic conditions, war, and socio-psychological factors on fertility. While one selection covers fertility trends in the United States, there is no selection placing fertility change in a broad historical context, as was done with mortality.

The fourth and fifth sections deal with distribution of populations and migration. There is a short chapter concerned with economic and cultural aspects of immigration to the United States and emigration from Europe since World War II. The second part, Chapter 5, is concerned with internal distribution of population, with specific consideration of urbanization, and migration. Metropolitan population distribution received insufficient attention in that only a small section of one article treated this important distribution pattern.

The sixth chapter covers three problem areas. The first papers are concerned with composition analysis, utilizing age and sex analyses as examples. The second group covers utilization problems, with papers on labor force and other economic topics. The chapter ends with papers on population quality.

The final chapter is a series of regional studies touching thirteen countries or areas throughout the world.

SAMUEL PRATT

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The American Experience of Swedish Students: Retrospect and Aftermath. By FRANKLIN D. SCOTT. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956. xiii, 129 pp. \$3.00.

This publication constitutes one in a series of studies sponsored by the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Cross-Cultural

Education. Evidently, it will obtain its scientific significance as an integral part of that series making possible an isolation and comparison of factors operating in the manifold processes of cultural growth through exchange of persons. Questions of methodology, of hypotheses formed and tested, are better left until the project can be judged in its entirety. Here will be considered only the content aspect of Scott's monograph judged as a descriptive rather than an analytical study in the sociology of the learning process (*Wissenssociologie*) of Swedes studying in the United States. The lack of a general theory of cross-cultural exchange makes any attempt to study a particular sector highly tentative. Furthermore, such a pioneer effort as this should not be bedevilled by criticisms of the lack of theoretical solidity and methodological scrupulousness, which are yet to be developed for this new branch of learning. The main thing is that the author has produced a very illuminating and readable book on an interesting subject.

The present study is probably more timely than even the author knows, or knew. He himself has pointed up a rather sharp difference between those Swedish students who went to United States in the 'thirties and those of the post-war period. But this difference should not be taken to be either accidental or caused only by such external factors as the greater availability of scholarships at present. Instead, there is a fundamental difference in the functional character of studies abroad during the two periods, particularly if judged not only from the "supply" in the U.S. but from the "demand" in Sweden. In the earlier period studies abroad were needed to break a certain cultural isolation and, if my contemporaries forgive me, backwardness in Sweden; in the latter period studies abroad are indicated as supplementary in selected fields of specialization, where the greater resources of a greater country will always act with attraction or where the incidence of genius and special interest have created an epicenter of international supremacy.

This will be my only criticism, that the author has perhaps not sufficiently penetrated the different roles of foreign study in different cultural epochs. If he had used his knowledge of Sweden's undubitable backwardness for as astonishingly a long period as a decade after the first world war, he could have made, indirectly, a greater contribution to our general understanding of the role, or the different roles, of foreign studies in cases of "underdevelopment" in a given country, or of its transition from one dominating culture-influence to another, or of its equal status but uneven special-

ization. In the earlier period, which Scott's sample encompasses, Sweden belonged rather in the two first-mentioned of those categories, while in the present period she belongs in the last.

Formerly it was an act of bold exploration which drove inquisitive and ambitious students to the United States. Now that the channels are wide open—as scientific findings and new ideas find their way to the Swedish academic readers, and foreign studies can be integrated with national ones in a regular, planned way—another type of student dominates. Some of these differences can be gleaned from Scott's presentation but, if sharpened, they would have led to further understanding of the various functions of study abroad in different cultural circumstances.

Scott's attempts to find the "determinants of effectiveness" of U. S. studies for Swedes have here been judged against this yardstick of the usefulness of such studies for Sweden. That is also, implicitly, the value premise Scott most definitely applies. Quite a different one might have been chosen, but the author himself disowns it: "complete acceptance of the United States." The main effects of the studies in America have been several considerable contributions to technology and science in Sweden, and further a definite stimulation of reform ideas, visible in particular in the zest with which returnees have worked to introduce American-inspired reforms, in the Swedish educational system. On the personality plane there is a relaxation of culture-inspired tensions and formalisms in social behavior. As a by-effect Scott lists a widening of horizons generally and a quite distinct increase in leanings towards internationalism. He has also found that all the subjects interviewed regard their experience in the U. S. as positive and remain friends and defendants of U. S. in most regards which matter. That Scott has caught the essentials of these results is indicated by the internal homogeneity of replies received in his questioning. To the intrinsic plausibility of these conclusions Swedish observers could but add their own conviction as supporting evidence: studies in the U. S. have led to greater progress in Sweden to greater success for the individuals and to greater sympathy for the U. S.

These Swedish observers must also congratulate Scott on having stated his assumptions as to what the Swedish students were seeking and what their own mental make-up was in such veracious terms. It seems, however, that such generalizations—fortunately found, as I think they are—could in a sociological study have been extricated by more precise means, which

would have facilitated a comparison with students from other cultural environments.

From a research point of view, one particular problem of the widest practical significance has been pointed up by Scott, namely that of the optional age for such studies. The generalization, proffered by Scott, places in a nutshell the relationship between *objective* and *result*, which could well be studied as a problem of major cultural policy importance: "... the rule is that youthfulness facilitates adjustment to American conditions and ideas, while maturity facilitates concentration on the specialized learning most desired for Sweden's use" (pp. 56-57). How far is this true for bilateral cross-cultural study arrangements between any other two countries?

ALVA MYRDAL

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The Refugee and the World Community. By JOHN GEORGE STOESEINGER. Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1956. viii, 239 pp. \$4.50.

Primarily concerned with the international efforts to deal with the problem of refugees and displaced persons, this volume treats clearly, succinctly, and humanely the pioneer work of High Commissioner Nansen under the League of Nations; the activities of the High Commission for Refugees from Germany, the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees, and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which were forerunners of the International Refugee Organization; the accomplishments of this most important agency, and the minor scattered efforts since its dissolution in 1952. The author, who as a youth was a refugee in Europe and later worked for the IRO in China before coming to the United States to study, holds that the fundamental cause of the refugee problem is the abuse of basic human rights. His treatment of this subject, oriented in the doctrine of natural rights, contains a good deal of the "oughtness" of human rights in contrast to the realistic view that what rights men may have are a social product guaranteed by the state. A basic problem in international efforts to prevent intolerance and even to care for the escaping victims, as the author points out, is that the very nations which produce refugees are least inclined to cooperate in any international effort to ameliorate the situation. Although the IRO had a membership of only eighteen nations, had to face the opposition of the Soviet bloc, and was in a constant state of financial emergency, it accomplished a great and difficult task

through its coordinated program, extending from legal and political protection to care and maintenance and finally resettlement. The author feels that its dissolution was premature, and favors the establishment of a single unified international refugee organization of the IRO type, with responsibility for all aspects of the problem, over the present regional and temporary efforts. The refugee problem promises, unfortunately, to be of long-range nature, and the main solution is still the age-old one of migration. The author concludes: "So long as basic human rights continue to be abused, so long will the primary task of international organization in refugee work remain the transfer of human beings from areas where fundamental human liberties are not yet recognized to those parts of our earth where freedom beckons."

MAURICE R. DAVIE

Yale University

Race and Nationality in American Life. By OSCAR HANDLIN. Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1957. xiii, 300 pp. \$4.00.

Oscar Handlin is an historian and each of the thirteen essays which make up this book is an historical analysis of a particular aspect of intergroup relations in America.

One essay of particular interest to sociologists deals with "The Origins of Negro Slavery." The thesis here is that slavery in America was an immanent, crescent development within the colonies rather than a simple instance of cultural borrowing or diffusion. Prior to the last few decades of the 1600's, Handlin indicates, the Negro occupied a position akin to that of indentured servants. They were, albeit, captured, transported in irons, sold on the block, etc., but they weren't legally slaves. This situation reminds one of an observation of Abe Martin, a Hoosier humorist of an earlier day: "It's no disgrace to be poor but it might just as well be." Though the distinction between slave and indentured servant may have made little difference to the transported Negro, the distinction is important to those of us interested in the history of the slavery institution.

The essay "Old Immigrants and New" is an account of the process whereby congressional committees of the first decade of the present century decided, with the help of social and biological science, that Northern European immigrants were biologically and socially superior to those from the south and east of Europe. Handlin reviews in great detail the conclusions upon which the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, in 1907, based its facts.

Among other subjects treated are "Prejudice and Capitalist Exploitation," which is a criti-

cism of the oversimplified view that economic exploitation is the cause of prejudice; "The Linnaean Web" is a history of the better known race classifiers and their scientific contributions to racism: In "The Horror" Handlin airs what is essentially a theory of the historical origin of race prejudice in the Western World. Prejudice is traced to a need for a feeling of togetherness born of the "alienation and homelessness" experienced by people cut off from family ties and tradition. This hypothesis, that there may be a relationship between anomie and prejudice, is not new and, despite Handlin's conclusions, remains an hypothesis and, we might add, a very important one.

Though there are, in this book, a number of interpretations (of historical events) which could easily be disputed, the book is more provocative and perhaps more useful to social scientists because of these interpretations. If you like your history safe and dry you won't like this book.

FRANK R. WESTIE

Indiana University

Supervisory and Executive Development: A Manual for Role Playing. By NORMAN R. F. MAIER, ALLEN R. SOLEM, and AYESHA A. MAIER. New York: John Wiley and Sons; London: Chapman and Hall, 1957. xi, 330 pp. \$6.50.

This volume will be of interest to the sociologist since it is a simple way to become acquainted with one of the current approaches to the training of human relations skills. Maier's work represents a version of role-playing training which has become acceptable in a number of applied areas, including education and industrial relations. Essentially it is a wedding of the case method and the role-playing techniques, and the respective proposed values of each are presumed to accrue to this combined approach. The case method is seen to have the virtues of: discouraging snap judgments and looking for "correct" answers, illustrating differences in perception, destroying smug prejudicial generalizations, training to discuss with others and thus experience the broadening value of interacting with one's peers, keeping the thinking in a practical setting, and causing doubt as to whether there really are basic human relations principles. The virtues of role-playing are represented as: requiring the person to carry out his thoughts, permitting practice of carrying out an action, affecting attitude changes, training sensitivity to the feelings of others, indicating the important part played by feelings in determining behavior, discovering one's own faults, and permitting training of the

control of feelings and emotions. In a sense, one may generalize to say that the case method and the role-playing techniques together lead to all good social things. Unfortunately, in this manual there is no indication of the limitations to these techniques or of the difficulties that may be implicit in demonstrating that the good things actually result from the application of the method. One should not expect too much of this in a *manual* for role-playing, but some indication of the validity of the technique should be given beyond the assertion that "This is what results." Actually, very little research exists demonstrating the effectiveness of either the case method or the role-playing techniques.

On the other hand, the manual is interesting in implicitly accepting that, in general, people are intelligent and may have some control over their behavior, which is an assumption that is difficult to find in the one-sided psychiatric and psychological writing that often seems to make a contrary assumption. The direction of the human relations approach as exemplified in this manual suggests that the common social interaction processes which are implicit in ordinary living and which are the socialization processes may be an effective way of handling problems of deviance and lack of a common communication base. At a low level this proposes that social psychological dislocations should be treated through social processes rather than in terms of psychological mechanisms.

This manual may be useful to sociologists since it furnishes some fresh ideas through which they may be able to develop interesting illustrative lectures in regard to the analysis of aspects of social behavior. While persons who utilize the cases presented may want to modify them in given ways, it is quite obvious that these cases represent considerable experience on the part of the authors and therefore are reasonably well tested. The utilization of case materials is around a plan which begins with the development of general problem issues, moves to the consideration of a specific instance, and then presumably leads to generalizations about human relations principles. Several role-playing procedures are illustrated and many rules of thumb are given.

EDGAR F. BORGATTA

Russell Sage Foundation

The Economic Status of the Aged. By PETER O. STEINER and ROBERT DORFMAN. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1957. xx, 296 pp. \$5.00.

Scholars working in the field of gerontology will find *The Economic Status of the Aged*

worth purchasing. It is a relatively short monograph (154 pages of text; 139 pages of appendices). But the authors waste no space in presenting key information on the economic problems of older people. Basic questions of income and related living arrangements of older people—which have heretofore had only speculative answers—are at least partly answered. The study is equally valuable in answering questions about the actual labor force status of older men and women. Included are data on labor-force participation and non-participation hitherto available only by inference or extrapolation from case studies of limited samples.

The Steiner and Dorfman monograph is one of a group of studies included in an interdisciplinary attack on the problem of aging in an industrial society. Financed at Berkeley by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, the studies embrace also research in the politics of aging, and in social, psychological, and physiological aspects of aging.

Primary basis of the Steiner and Dorfman study is a survey which the authors designed and carried out cooperatively with the Bureau of the Census. The survey, completed in 1952, is nationwide, and includes data on households with one or more persons aged 65 and over produced both by the special survey, and by the Current Population Survey.

The special importance of this book comes from the wealth of material from these surveys reproduced either in the text or the appendices. The appendices are particularly valuable for those seeking details on net value of older peoples' assets, amounts and types of earnings, medical costs in relation to income, and much other information available up to now only partially in periodical literature. The treatment, in Chapter VI of the text, of the real income of aged persons is notable, not only for its new material, but for its successful attack on a number of inaccurate, but almost conventionalized, current assumptions.

The book is organized to treat briefly but adequately the population status and projections for older people, their social characteristics, the labor-force status of men and women past 65—including those not in the labor force. This is followed by analysis of the income and income sources of older people, including financial reserves and cash-equivalent income, and a final summary of the assets of the aged. A concluding chapter, which is too short to take full advantage of the authors' data, deals with implications of the study for selected economic problems. One of these is employment of women of 40 or over, another is skill-obsol-

cence in the aging, another the Depression-born restrictions on employment written into the Social Security Act. A final, definite conclusion is that "the aged do not constitute a great reservoir of unutilized labor whose members might benefit psychologically, socially, and economically by some magical lifting of artificial barriers to their utilization." The assumption which the authors attack here has done much to misdirect research and action in gerontology in the last five years.

Although the authors are appropriately modest about the many problems they have not explored in their study, any informed reader will recognize this book as an important landmark, and an essential guide to further research.

IVAN BELKNAP

The University of Texas

Education and the Social Order. By BLAINE E. MERCER and EDWIN R. CARR. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1957. xv, 585 pp. \$6.00.

Society and Education. By ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST and BERNICE L. NEUGARTEN. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1957. xv, 465 pp. \$5.75.

Both books attempt a sociological interpretation of selected aspects of American education. Both focus on socialization and enculturation during the years of pre-elementary, elementary and secondary schooling with brief side-glances toward collegiate education. Neither takes account of professional, graduate or adult education. Both are designed as textbooks for teachers and prospective teachers (or hopefully for sociologists and prospective sociologists) in the study of educational sociology.

Mercer and Carr suggest a distinction between "sociology of education" and "educational sociology" which may be useful in assessing both books as contributions to sociological literature. "Sociology of education" is a division of sociological studies concerned with education conceived broadly as "socialization . . . social perpetration through the transmission of the cultural heritage from generation to generation, the introduction of new social patterns, and the evolution of individual personality" (p. 4). It is not primarily concerned with the institutions of formal education but rather with all institutions that influence socialization. "Educational sociology," on the other hand, is "a subdivision of a developing science of education" (p. 4), working outward to the study of society from a primary focus upon the institutions of formal schooling. It is said to be a more "practical minded" study than the "sociology of educa-

tion," presumably in the sense that its practitioners are more concerned with applying findings and hypotheses to the understanding and control of "human interactions" in educational institutions. The authors identify Part I of their book as "sociology of education" and Part II as "educational sociology." They present the book as "one source for the development . . . of both sociological and educational theory" (p. vii).

The chapter headings of Mercer's and Carr's book seem apt to the realization of this expressed sweeping purpose—"the culture concept," "education and socialization," "education and social stratification," "education, social control and social disorganization" and "education and social change" in Part I—"the school as a social institution," "class and ethnic patterns and the school," "the school and the community," etc., in Part II. But the assorted readings from many authors which fill the chapters, with only a minimum of context and continuity supplied by the authors, add up neither to a system of concepts relevant to the topics treated nor to a clarification of the major intellectual and/or policy issues raised implicitly by commentaries on "education" out of widely varying "sociological" and "philosophical" perspectives.

The authors recognize the "ideal" dependence of the "educational sociologist" upon the "educational philosopher" for clarification of the "questions of individual and social value" in relation to which the former organizes his "information and theoretical schemes" for purposes of application (p. 5). But the work of competent philosophic analysts is notably absent from the treatments of value standpoints and policy issues which appear not infrequently among the selections here reprinted. The authors have at times substituted more or less effective rhetorical "expressions" of value malaise or value euphoria for the careful philosophic analyses of relevant value issues and orientations which enlightened application of social knowledge in educational settings requires. Joseph W. Krutch's "Is Our Common Man Too Common?," William H. Whyte's "Group-think," and Henry Steele Commager's "Who Is Loyal to America?" are cases in point.

Havighurst and Neugarten are more modest than Mercer and Carr in assessing their book as a piece of sociological literature. "Possibly this book should be regarded more as a sociological interpretation of education than a sociology of education" (p. vi). They have nevertheless achieved a more solid and original contribution. The authors work out of the framework of social structure analysis associated with Lloyd Warner's typology of social classes,

a framework which both authors have employed in various empirical researches. This point of view guides the authors through an insightful analysis of social structure, social mobility, the socialization process in children and adolescents, various non-scholastic institutions through which socialization is influenced and achieved in America, the school as an institution, and the teacher as a cluster of social roles. The more or less consistent cognitive outlook of the authors puts even the more traditional topics treated into fresh relief.

The limitations of their treatment are for the most part limitations in the point of view out of which they work rather than in the quality of the treatment actually given to the topics selected. Thus one finds no treatment of the educational bearings of contemporary social disintegration, of personal anomie, of conflict and relativity in basic social norms, or of structural social change (as distinguished from individual and group mobility within existing social structure), though such concepts might have helped to illuminate even some of the interesting case descriptions of role behavior and inadequate socialization with which their writing is interlarded.

The topics treated least cogently by Havighurst and Neugarten are precisely those to which their working model of social structure is least applicable—"education and social policy," "intergroup education," and "education in the international setting."

In summary, Mercer and Carr have projected a grand design for the disciplines both of "sociology of education" and of "educational sociology," but, because of the randomness in orientation and quality of the readings they have selected and loosely joined, have contributed little toward concretizing the design. Havighurst and Neugarten, working with a limited but well-internalized model of social structure, have contributed to both disciplines.

KENNETH D. BENNE

Boston University

The Social Structure of Islam. Being the second edition of *The Sociology of Islam*. By REUBEN LEVY. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1957. vii, 536 pp. \$9.50.

In pursuit of his goal to comprehend all human societies in *The Principles of Sociology*, Herbert Spencer set up a classification system and commissioned several scholars to excerpt reports on various societies in accordance with it. This was in 1867. He found this system so useful that he published, at his own expense, several of the collections in the series he called *Descriptive Sociology*. But this early effort to

build up a human resources area file through team research could not survive without the financial resources of the modern foundation. After losing more than fifteen thousand of his own pre-inflation dollars in this display of loyalty to scholarship, he gave up in 1881 with the complaint that the "love for the personalities of history" was much greater than the "desire for its instructive facts. . . ."

Yet the idea apparently gave him no peace, for he provided in his will (he died in 1903) a sum of money to continue the series. The collections of data whose publication Spencer had personally supervised were issued in royal folio size (20 by 13 inches) to accommodate the summary tables he had asked the compilers to prepare. Not one to leave things to chance or to other people's tastes, he gave specific instructions for the scholars who would contribute to the series after his death. He prescribed, for example, that a "compiler" must, when copying from his sources, "use as a guide to the eye a heavy strip of lead or brass with a bevelled edge, which will be moved down line by line as the extract is copied." So rigid was his posthumous control, that his trustees had to get a court's permission in 1928 to change the format for the first edition of the book under review, published in two volumes in 1931 and 1933.

Professor Levy, of Cambridge University, does not mention Spencer in his book, nor does its approach or organization owe anything to Spencer as a social philosopher. Although it is of great interest and value to the social scientist, *The Social Structure of Islam* is written in the Orientalists' tradition. It begins with an account of the rise and expansion of Islam in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. and then takes up the stratification of Islamic society primarily with respect to the relationship to the religion itself; the status of women and children; the legal structure as laid down by the Koran, the later "traditions" about Muhammad's acts and sayings, and the legal commentaries; the relation of custom and usage to this legal structure; the Caliphate as an institution of government; methods of rule in the provinces of the Islamic empire; military organization and doctrine; and the Islamic notions of science and the nature of the physical world.

In view of the social scientists' increasing attention to the Islamic world as an "under-developed" area in the midst of great social change, this new edition of a useful work long out of print is welcome. Professor Levy set himself the task of examining the "effects of the religious system of Islam on the life and

organization of the societies which acknowledge it." But these societies have differed so considerably and have changed so much in thirteen centuries that, in spite of the author's conviction that they are "suited for treatment as a unity," this book is weak in synthesis. Added to these difficulties is the one posed by the paucity of sources.

Nor have the historians done much to remedy this weakness in the last quarter-century, to judge from the two editions of this book. Professor Levy says it has been "revised in the light of changed conditions and more recent work on the subject" but the two editions are so much alike that one is forced to conclude that the author cannot believe much has happened either to social life among Moslems or in Western scholarship on them. On the former point he is the victim of his approach, which is to rely heavily on legal materials and commentaries, and of the sources, which contain few records of social behavior as distinct from religious and legal precepts. This weakness, more serious for the social scientist than the Orientalist, is especially noticeable in those brief sections of each chapter that refer to contemporary belief and conduct.

The chief value of *The Social Structure of Islam* to the social scientist is likely to be as a compendium of facts about the religious and legal foundations of Islamic societies in the past. As such it will be of great use to scholars seeking an introduction to the world of Islam today—and it is faithful to Herbert Spencer's original conception, as he put it, of this series as "large accumulations of data, fitly arranged for comparison."

MORROE BERGER

Princeton University

The People of Puerto Rico. By JULIAN H. STEWARD, ROBERT A. MANNERS, ERIC R. WOLF, ELENA PADILLA SEDA, SIDNEY W. MINTZ, and RAYMOND L. SCHEELE. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1956. ix, 540 pp. \$10.00.

This monumental book, sections of which have already had a wide formal or informal circulation, falls into three parts—a history of Puerto Rican society and culture, a series of reports on field studies of local "sub-cultures" and a discussion of the theory and methodology involved. Of the field study reports one can say in a brief review only that all are respectable and at least two—those of Wolf and Mintz—are outstanding in their union of observation and systematization. This review deals mainly with the theoretical sections for which Steward

is responsible; the other authors appear to be in broad agreement with him.

The Puerto Rico project appears to be unique among published studies in taking as its ambition the study of a complex society at three levels—what may be called the sub-national, national and supranational—and in consciously adapting anthropological technique to this purpose. It is apparent from the unity of approach among the various contributors that a working viewpoint was evolved satisfactory and useful to the project staff. Will the concepts and relationships involved be helpful to other field workers? And will they be acceptable to the theorist?

The most commonly used concept at the sub-national level is the sub-culture. Steward treats regional sub-culture and class sub-culture as of the same order of generality though defined in different dimensions. The regional sub-culture is shown by this study to be a useful concept in Puerto Rico, and there is evidence that it is equally applicable in the neighbouring and basically similar island of Jamaica; it will probably in fact find very wide application. But the theorist will have a hard time reducing Steward's scheme to consistency. His "cultural definition of classes," for example, appears to beg more questions than it solves ("classes are sociocultural groups or segments arranged in an hierarchical order"), particularly the questions "groups of what?" and "arranged by whom?"

At the national level this study has little to say that is new. Steward expressly disclaims the intention of defining the "state," perhaps because he is aware of the difficulty of drawing a neat line round a society like Puerto Rico. He discusses the relation between regional and class sub-culture in terms of intersecting vertical and horizontal divisions of the field of society, noting that class lines may not correspond in all sub-cultures. At one point (p. 8) he comes close to defining members of a sub-culture as people "substantially like" each other, which conflicts with the view of a regional sub-culture as including distinct class strata: it is the latter view, however, which dominates the book.

At these two levels the main preoccupation of the study is static—the placing of individuals in sub-cultural pigeonholes. At the supranational level the analysis becomes dynamic—or rather quasi-dynamic; it proceeds in terms of stages linked by processes, rather than in terms of general process, much on the lines of Steward's *Theory of Cultural Change*. Here again, while the theorist may object to the insistence on presenting multi-dimensional systems in one or

two-dimensional terms, the field worker will find valuable material and insights.

This book is well worth the money; and in view of the price there can be no higher praise.

G. E. CUMPER

Institute of Social and Economic Research, Jamaica

Man and Land in Peru. By THOMAS R. FORD. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1955. ix, 176 pp. \$4.00.

Peasant Society in the Colombian Andes: A Sociological Study of Saucio. By ORLANDO FALS-BORDA. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1955. xii, 277 pp. \$5.00

The dramatic plot, common to these two books, is an ancient and ubiquitous one, here presented in its contemporary Latin American variants: the relationship of man, the actor, institutor and sufferer, to the ever passive entity, land. The *mise en scène* is constituted by two Andean countries, and while the specific settings differ significantly in scale, the broad backgrounds of geographical facts and, still more, of historical antecedents are virtually identical. The moment is that of an impending crisis—a crisis not inevitable, but possible in the nature of things as seen by both authors: the growing insufficiency of land, opportunity and production-wise, in relation to a growing population and especially in relation to the number of cultivators, and unrest and feelings of dissatisfaction in the rural areas. This is the central and classical problem to which the authors address themselves, the one directly, the other incidentally, and which they attempt to state, diagnose and analyze soberly and dispassionately—not a mean task in view of the overgrowth of polemics and romanticism to which the subject matter so richly lends itself. Both authors, in fact, are notably undogmatic in their approach, both preserve an attitude of temperate and judicious pessimism, and both recognize that the problematic of the situations with which they deal is not solely one of the objective and measurable disproportion between man and land, but that a host of single and interconnected variable factors are equally crucial in generating and re-generating the problem, among which are: the levels of technological equipment brought to bear upon the agricultural productive process; the institutional arrangements by which land and labor are differentially distributed and put to use and by which access to capital and credit is provided; formation of political ideologies and movements on the national plane, and the changing attitudes of the cultivator (whether owner, tenant, or laborer) vis-à-vis his situation, his perception

of his opportunities (or lack thereof) and his acquaintance, if only from a distance, with other modes and levels of living, brought to awareness by virtue of the developments in other sectors of the nation, chiefly in that of international and national transport and communication (to a lesser extent, perhaps, by school and formal education) and in the industrial and urban sectors, together with the political actions and legislative acts affecting the rural scene to varying degrees. Both authors take ample account of the less tangible ingredients in the problematic situation, Ford by reference, for instance, to the radical movements of social protest of the Peruvian intellectuals during the earlier decades of this century, Fals-Borda by a notable presentation of peasant personality, values and motivations.

Both authors trace the palpable problem historically rather than present it in the flat "functional" perspective. And while their histories of agrarian, property and labor institutions are not novel for Latin America as a whole, they are competently and pertinently related.

The two works differ, of course, in scope and in the amplitude of the reality with which they deal. Ford is concerned with "the social systems that develop around the utilization of agricultural lands" in Peru as a whole and with its "radically different systems of land tenure and use," and articulates his subject matter eminently in terms of the development of these systems and the forces maintaining them. In effect, *Man and Land in Peru* constitutes a good general introduction to Peru as a historical and social entity, for it ranges so widely over the ramifications of the subject matter and thereby over so many aspects of that nation's life—not forgetting, of course, the so-called and multi-faceted Indian problem ("The Indian in the Peruvian Agrarian Scheme")—that the reader, with some right, might ask himself whether this book does not exhaust all of Peru's "problems and possibilities." The ground covered by Mr. Ford has been covered before, though not as comprehensively and thoroughly and not in the admirably systematic and lucid manner in which he has managed to marshal the vast array of inter-connected factors and aspects defining his subject matter. His book is, furthermore, the first monograph on that subject in English and has the special merit

of bringing much of the important literature on Peruvian institutions and practices governing land and labor up to date. Not among the least of his contributions to the illumination of the man-land problem are original field data on farm sizes in one province and his computations from available but camouflaged data on the distribution of farm units by size for the coastal and sierra regions—the latter a task that earns the author the sympathy of anyone who, like this reviewer, has ever questioned this type of material for its significance.

Whereas Ford necessarily paints his picture on a broad canvas, Fals-Borda portrays his miniature in loving detail. For all that *Peasant Society in the Colombian Andes* encompasses a much smaller reality—a community or "neighborhood" of less than 400 inhabitants, located some 60 miles north of the capital—it ranges much wider sociologically. In fact, a small course on Latin American society and culture comes wrapped up in this study of Saucó by means of which the author exemplifies the "peasant problem" or the "rural problem" of Colombia, and not the least of its attractive features is what appears to this reviewer a happy marriage between rigorous sociological methods in the North American fashion and a traditional interest in what in Latin America is called "folklore," a combination used to particular advantage in the discussion on family, religion and politics in their bearing on peasant personality and "neighborhood" ethos. The problem of man and land figures incidentally, albeit importantly, in this community study. A number of adverse circumstances which loom in Ford's book, are absent or considerably mitigated in Fals-Borda's "case." Hence his phrasing and accenting of the agrarian problem differ strikingly from that of Ford: "Labor and land are in balance in Saucó, unstable as that balance may be" (p. 80). There is no unemployment; in fact, labor is scarce. There is, as the economist would express it, underemployment in relation to potential productivity.

The two volumes make interesting complementary reading. Both are informative, stimulating, and in part provocative (limitations of space prevent criticism of some points in both works). Both are well written, and both are specimens of good-book production.

BEATE R. SALZ

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BOOK NOTES

La sociologie d'Auguste Comte. By JEAN LACROIX. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956. 114 pp. 240 fr., paper.

Professor Lacroix's main contention in this short but meaty interpretation is that Comte's sociology is actually a comprehensive and unified philosophy of social humanism. He sees little basis for the view of John Stuart Mill and others that the *Philosophie Positive* can be radically distinguished from the later *Politique Positive* or that Comte's eventual devotion to a Religion of Humanity should be attributed to his association with Clotilde de Vaux or to any mental aberration. The eventual emphasis on a morality based on order, the proposed institution of a priesthood charged with the task of education, the apparent shift from an objective sociology usually associated with positivism to a peculiarly subjective positivism—all this, Lacroix argues, is implicit in Comte's earliest systematic views. The development and implications of this broad philosophy are traced in some detail by the author, and he concludes that, grand as the philosophy of Humanity is, it sought to escape naturalism without admitting a genuine transcendence of man in relation to nature.

The impossibility of such an escape is the key to the weakness of Comte's system, and this philosophical defect is, in Lacroix's analysis, responsible for the shortcomings of his sociology considered as a plan for social reorganization. Comte's refusal to recognize the individual human being left him with no proper reference for his concept of Humanity. Hence, in the proposed order, man can "relate" and participate, but he can not exist as such. Society becomes, in fact, a spiritual despotism.

While Lacroix's book is primarily a philosophical analysis of positivism, attention is called to the fact that there is a sociological substance to Comte's work. The reader will be forced to recall that the man who gave sociology its name was a shrewd observer of group life who clearly anticipated many of the problems and concepts of current sociological research.—KENNETH E. BOCK.

Logic Without Metaphysics. And Other Essays in the Philosophy of Science. By ERNEST NAGEL. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1956. xviii, 433 pp. \$6.00.

A primary task of philosophy is logical analysis of scientific theories. Yet philosophy of science is preached a good deal more than it

is practiced. It is an exacting discipline, demanding logical skill, laborious acquisition of scientific knowledge, and—for its best practitioners, such as Henri Poincaré and Ernest Nagel—scrupulous avoidance of callow scientism, so often mistaken for empiricism by rationalists and positivists alike.

This latest selection from Professor Nagel's writings contains addresses, articles, and book reviews—the last long respected for their rigor and integrity—spanning almost twenty-five years of tenacious, though occasionally rueful, philosophical clarity and sanity. One long essay, "A Formalization of Functionalism," is of particular sociological relevance. Prepared as a Case Study in the Formalization of Discursive Material for the Planning Project for Advanced Training in Social Research directed by Paul Lazarsfeld, it examines the paradigm of functional analysis presented by Merton in *Social Theory and Social Structure*. Taking the "directively organized" system of biology as his model, Professor Nagel pursues in detail "the indispensable requirements which an adequate functional account in sociology must seek to satisfy." His strictures are eminently sound, but the analysis is so general as to be perhaps of only limited value. There is almost no consideration of sociological propositions nor any discussion of what in sociology can legitimately be meant either by a system or by one which is self-regulating.

Early pragmatist influence upon American sociology has largely disappeared; if any philosophy has in recent years distinctively shaped attitudes toward theory and research it has been neo-positivism. A number of the longer pieces in Part I of *Logic Without Metaphysics* show that Nagel is almost unique among contemporary philosophers in managing to combine all the analytical virtuosity of positivism with the human naturalism characteristic of pragmatism. In a number of ways Professor Nagel continues the pragmatist tradition. For example, his insistence upon the unity of science is free of the taint of metaphysical reductionism: the unity of science is, for Nagel, primarily the unity of its method. Thus for many years he has opposed efforts either to obtain a special dispensation for the social sciences or to deny to them an autonomous subject-matter. Yet, again much like Dewey, he also sees the sciences as "on-going" inquiries with different logical attributes at different stages of their development. He has retained as well an almost old-fashioned, nineteenth century respect for

the sciences as abstract theoretical systems "often related to matters of direct observation only indirectly." Finally, in the rare instances in which he touches upon the matter, he makes no radical separation between fact and value. He acknowledges their difference, but he does not go so far as to assert their unrelatedness.—GERTRUDE JAEGER SELZNICK.

Operations of Sociological Inquiry. By MARIO LINS. Rio de Janeiro: Jornal do Commercio, 1956. 122 pp. No price indicated.

The *Operations of Sociological Inquiry* is a bold adventure into the difficult area where the problems of theory construction, the nature and limits of scientific and sociological knowledge, the relations between theory and method, and between theory and practice all meet. Moreover, the problems in this ambiguous interstitial area are faced precisely in their most difficult metaphysical, epistemological, and methodological form. The degree to which such boldness of thought is matched by a sense of responsibility for the subject matter is shown by the citations which range from the work of Carnap, Feigl, Cassirer, Korzybski through that of John Dewey and E. A. Burtt to that of George Lundberg, R. MacIver, K. Mannheim, R. Merton, T. Parsons and P. A. Sorokin. It goes without saying that it would probably require a dozen lifetimes to achieve (if it is possible at all) a genuine synthesis of the ideas not only of this impressive list of thinkers, but many more.

Lins' work, thus, is far more interesting for the problems it poses than for the solutions it offers. From the Unity of Science aspects of Logical Positivism, Lins takes over the idea of a new more comprehensive stage of theory construction. By the developments since 1900 in analytical philosophy and logic, he suggests, the logical tools have been forged for the new task. From the new movements in functionalism (represented by the micro-functionalism of Kurt Lewin and his followers and the macro-functionalism of R. Merton and T. Parsons) Lins derives the outlines of the new theory of the social sciences. "The new Logico-scientific forms, based on functional categories . . . provide greater possibilities for reconciling the differentiations once presumed to be intransposable (irreducible), within phenomenal reality" (p. 27). The general context of ideas within which this movement in theory construction will occur is provided, it seems, by pragmatic operationalism.

At the present stage—and it is difficult to see how this could be avoided—Lins work is a mosaic of citations bearing on the same range

of problems. It is to be hoped that in the future he will continue to attempt to solve the problems he has brought into focus.—DON MARTINDALE.

Drinking Norms and Drinking Habits. By ERIK ALLARDT. Publication No. 6. The Finnish Foundation For Alcohol Studies. Helsinki: Uudenmann Kirjapaino Osakeyhtiö, 1957. 100 pp. No price indicated.

Drinking Patterns in Finnish Lapland. By SAKARI SARIOLA. Helsinki: The Finnish Foundation For Alcohol Studies, 1956. 88 pp. Distributor: Almqvist and Wiksell, Stockholm. Sw. Cr. 10.

The first of these two research monographs is the product of a sociology seminar held at the University of Helsinki in 1955–56. The data were obtained from interviews of a population sample of 400, randomly selected from two residential areas of Helsinki. The objective of the study was to analyze the relation of drinking norms to drinking behavior. For this purpose Guttman scales were employed to measure the following: (1) drinking-and-joy (permissiveness) (2) how-to-drink (restrained or unrestrained) (3) the value-of-drunkenness (4) friendship-and-drinking.

The most significant factor or variable in the findings proved to be permissive and non-permissive attitudes toward drinking. The how-to-drink attitudes, however, did not correlate with overt drinking behavior, nor with permissive-non-permissive attitudes. Differences in drinking behavior related to sex, age, church attendance and childhood home generally were found to be a function of proportions of permissive and non-permissive persons in the categories. The same was true for social class differences.

The one other important variable to emerge from this research was membership in or identification with a drinking group. Thus the drinking situation becomes an intervening variable which changes the drinking behavior of both permissive and non-permissive persons. Home experiences to some extent were also found to contravene drinking norms.

The second piece of research is a report on an investigation into drinking patterns in Lapland, undertaken at the request of the State Monopoly with a view to possible revision of policy regulating the distribution of alcoholic beverages. It was based on 923 interviews conducted over a four month period in seven selected communities and two logging camps. Using as a measure the "last occurred" consumption of alcoholic beverages, the authors compare the communities and conclude that peasant type cultures found in some villages

function to limit or repress alcohol consumption. On the other hand, in contrast to this Finnish peasant culture, study of a primitive Lapp village revealed that drinking was both indulged in and given sanction through ceremony and symbols.

The more general finding of this study was that increased drinking in Finnish Lapland has appeared in conjunction with a newer type culture which has come with greatly expanded logging operations and is intimately connected with the "company" pattern of exploitation. Presumably, heavy drinking is part of the worker's protest. Other data on socioeconomic status of heavy drinkers support this hypothesis, which is more generally expressed by the statement that some kind of economic deprivation and social disintegration makes certain individuals susceptible to alcohol additon.

While the second research effort seemed to attempt too much, nevertheless, both studies show a high level of sophistication and a surprisingly excellent command of methods and literature on sociological research into alcohol use. The findings are informative and theoretically useful.—EDWIN M. LEMERT.

Katei No Fuwa (Domestic Discord: Where the Causes Lie). By MASANORI DOHI. Tokyo: Kokudo Sha, 1953. 208 pp. 200 Yen.

This book by an authority on psychoanalysis might be said to be the first systematic study in the family field in Japan. The book consists of three chapters treating the atmosphere of the family, analyzing family tensions, describing causes, and identifying seventeen types of family troubles.

Today's family problems in Japan are more complex than formerly due to the disintegration since the war of the traditional familistic ideology, which emphasizes the continuation of the family, and the development of a new ideology based on democracy, freedom, and opportunity of self-expression. Although family troubles are not new to the post-war Japanese family, such a study has not been undertaken before in part at least because of the strong patriarchal system in which the head of the family was responsible for resolving difficulties.

Dr. Dohi has taken pains to study and analyze the causes of family discord sociopsychologically, giving valuable suggestions for their solution and treatment. Undoubtedly this book will be of great help to teachers, social workers, family court officials, and others. Although it lacks the statistical approach, it is a pioneer work, and as such contains much of value.—CHIEN-HSUN HUANG.

Neurotic Interaction in Marriage. Edited by VICTOR W. EISENSTEIN, M.D. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1956. xv, 352 pp. \$5.50.

The recognition, understanding, and solution of marital maladjustment are treated by twenty-five psychoanalytically oriented writers. In the first chapter Ashley Montagu notes some of the difficulties involved in achieving marital adjustment in American society. In the following chapter Lawrence Kubie remarks that "at the present point in the evolution of human culture a neurotic process is universal." Because of this, he continues, "masked neurotic ingredients" play a "distorting role in marriage choices" of all—neurotic and normal—"except in rare and fortuitous cases."

Most of the chapters in this book assert that mate-selection proceeds on the basis of complementary needs. Because of their professional interests (in psychiatry and related fields) and of the subject matter of the book these authors are mainly concerned with the neurotic aspects of complementary attraction. In chapter 11, however, Zygmunt A. Piotrowski and Stephanie Z. Dudek make it clear that they do not think of complementarity as a distinctively neurotic phenomenon: "... complementation . . . implies that two people are attracted to each other on the basis of their healthy or neurotic needs for the purpose of maintaining and developing their habitual needs and goals." These writers go on to suggest that choice of spouse on a basis of similarity rather than complementarity is operative with "some character structures." Unfortunately they do not explain or give examples. Bela Mittelman reports on a study of twenty-eight couples from which he derives five patterns of marital relationship which he regards as complementary. One paper by Martin H. Stein and another by M. Robert Gomberg discuss the phenomenon of Pygmalionism in marriage. Both authors regard the spouse who plays Pygmalion to be perceiving the mate as an extension of the self and to be needing the mate as bulwark in strengthening the spouse's own defenses.

As is usual with people in contact with rich case materials, these writers are short on rigorously established findings but rich in insights. One further observation from Kubie's stimulating chapter will serve as an example. He regards divorce as always a tragedy and underscores his view by remarking that for normal adults separation and loss through death are usually easier to bear than is separation through divorce. No evidence is presented, but it is an interesting thought.

This reviewer agrees with the author of the foreword, Nolan D. C. Lewis, that the volume

"provides an unusually rich source of information, analytic aid and therapeutic guidance for workers who are involved in the study and attempted correction of the numerous problems of family life." It does seem advisable, however, to add the qualification that in general the "information" pertains not to the findings of well designed experiments but to the clinically inspired beliefs of sophisticated students of human nature.—ROBERT F. WINCH.

One Marriage, Two Faiths: Guidance on Interfaith Marriage. By JAMES H. S. BOSSARD and ELEANOR STOKER BOLL. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1957. vii, 180 pp. \$3.50.

Monographs on intermarriage are so rare that a new publication is always eagerly awaited, especially when the authors, as in this case, are two highly respected sociologists who have spent more than a quarter of a century gathering data on the problem.

The stated purpose of this book is to consider how religious differences between husband and wife tend to affect family relationships and child development. The primary audience for which the book was intended is the layman seeking advice and guidance, not the professional sociologist. Utilizing numerous case histories, research findings of others, and statements of church policy, the implications drawn by Bossard and Boll are overwhelmingly conservative. Persistent and pervasive problems, they maintain, are more likely in intermarriage than are personal and social adjustment. Those seeking guidance will be provided with considerable ammunition against the practice rather than encouragement to participate in it. Parents and clergymen more than others will turn to this book as an aid in deterring prospective couples from the hazards of marriage outside the faith.

The sociologist may ask how representative the case histories are. It is to be expected that intermarriage maladjustments have a higher visibility than non-problem cases. Inasmuch as we are not told how the authors gathered their cases, it is not safe to assume that they are a cross-section of intermarriages in American society. But the book will be of some value to the sociologist as a collation of the literature. We learn from the various research reports that there is a rising incidence of intermarriage, that half of all church members who marry intermarry, that intermarriage is a device for upward social mobility by women, and that the offspring of intermarriages themselves intermarry more frequently than do those whose

parents were of common religious affiliation.—MILTON L. BARRON.

The Negro in the United States. Revised Edition. By E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957. xxxiii, 769 pp. \$6.40.

Those who have a copy of the first edition of this outstanding work need not write the publisher for a copy of the second—unless it is free. With the exception of a few changes—all of them minor—the two versions are duplicates. A quite limited amount of 1950 Census material is introduced. There are a few new commentaries on the Negro in the public school systems. The final chapter has been revised slightly. Otherwise nothing new has been added.

In comparing the two editions one has the feeling that Professor Frazier must have been under considerable pressure from his publishers to write a revised edition that would capitalize on the growing interest in the Negro, not to mention the growing college textbook market. One feels further that Professor Frazier had little time in which to accomplish these labors.

Surely, the momentous developments in Negro-white relations during the eight years since the appearance of the first edition merit more than the essentially marginal and parenthetical treatment they receive. Surely, the many new and provocative materials appearing on the Negro since 1948 deserve more attention than they are accorded in a tacked-on, thirty-item "Supplementary Bibliography." Surely, a description of Chicago's "Black Belt," exploding almost daily under unprecedented population pressures, ought to be based on something other than materials gathered almost two decades ago. Surely, enough has happened in Negro social movements during the past decade to warrant something more than the reproduction of a chapter from the first edition.

The Negro in the United States was, and remains, an outstanding and original work on the subject—one of the best available. A thorough revision and up-dating of it would be a real service to the race relations scholar and layman alike. It is unfortunate that we will have to wait several more years before receiving it. The second edition is not a revision; it is a duplicate with minor additions.—WILSON RECORD.

Dimensions of Character. By ERNEST M. LIGON. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1956. xiii, 497 pp. \$6.50.

In garrulous style Ligon reports on the work of the "Character Research Project" at Union

College. This project is now over 20 years old and has spent one million dollars in an attempt to improve Christian character education.

The goals of such education are taken from the Beatitudes. "Happy are the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of Heaven" is translated as prescribing "vision," using one's life to change the world. "Happy are the pure in heart" is an admonition for single-mindedness, and so on.

I did not learn from these many pages whether the curricula being examined were successful or not. Any results that are reported are well concealed beneath such profundities as "Youth does more to his environment than the environment does to him" and "The few millions being spent on religious and character education have greater potential for man's good than the billions spent on war have for his destruction" and "science is done by scientists" and "learning by learners."

This volume cannot be recommended to any one seeking information either about scientific method, which it discusses at some length, or how best to make Christians out of children. However, it does provide a case study of the Christian mentality in one prominent variety, of its penchant for supernatural *non sequitur*, of its hostility toward the world ("We are swimming against the current all the time. Yet, it is our conviction that, basically, the deepest drives of human nature are to swim against the current," (p. 394), and of its democratic appeal often expressed as animus toward the rare, gifted, excellent, and superior about which cf. Nietzsche.—GWYNNE NETTLER.

Economic Institutions and Human Welfare. By JOHN MAURICE CLARK. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957. xii, 285, x pp. \$4.00, text; \$5.50, trade.

Specialization is responsible for great progress in various fields of human endeavor; overspecialization, however, has resulted frequently in the failure of the specialist to appreciate the relationship of his specialty to other fields and to the public policy issues which touch upon his specialized interest. Thus, many sociologists and social workers have not been economic realists in considering their activities in the practical economic area while economists have so often pursued their economic theories while losing sight of the effect of economics on the individual and of the fact that in a democratic society the welfare of the individual is the basic goal.

John Maurice Clark, in *Economic Institutions and Human Welfare*, attempts to remedy this frequently found deficiency by emphasizing the

welfare implications which underlie economic laws and principles. His thesis is that there is a harmony between welfare policies and a healthy economic system. Conceiving the "welfare" concept as a healthy society which is responsible to and for healthy and responsible individuals, he develops the thesis that economic freedom and a sound economic system must go hand-in-hand with social freedom and the development of basic welfare programs. While emphasizing the need for equality and economic security he also indicates the need for adventure, experimentation and freedom. In an unusual approach he develops the ethical basis for the social objectives of society and the economic principles necessary to achieve those objectives. Among the ethical standards and goals he lists: marketable goods and services, dynamic forward movement, proper distribution of goods, security, the right to work, participation in industry in community activities, and a number of other objectives.

This collection of essays is a welcome relief from many recent books on economics which seem to treat economics as a pure science without regard to basic ethical goals or considerations of human welfare. Professor Clark has made a real contribution to the very obvious interplay of economics and human welfare.—CHARLES I. SCHOTTLAND.

History of Employers' Associations in the United States. By CLARENCE E. BONNETT. New York: Vantage Press, 1956. 573 pp. \$5.00.

Industrial and political sociologists will find substance and provocation in this book. Bonnett feels that study of either "the working class" or employers alone is inadequate for understanding modern labor relations. As suggested by the title, his focus is on evolution and change of types, and study of powerful interlocking organizations through time.

Seeing guilds as the earliest form of employer association, Bonnett covers the European period in some detail. He treats the American groups from around 1650 until 1916, and his pages are laden with data in the form of dates, organizations, issues, numbers involved, places, items of manufacture, branches of industry, legal interpretations, etc. These are not ordered into tables, but are nevertheless readably presented. This is much more than a record of employers' associations: two chapters are given to collective bargaining; three—98 pages—on the open shop movement, and one on union-association collaboration.

Though his package of data is welcome, his conclusions will bring frowns and questions. He

finds that the closed shop "is of far less benefit to the union member than to the member of a price-fixing association where the closed shop functions to maintain monopoly prices for the association." And he sees the associations as in effect allied "with the union against the consumer" (but does not note how many consumers are workers), which amounts to "a system of fascism, not of private enterprise."

Bonnett makes his data available through four indexes, one on references, one on associations, one on unions, and a general index.—M. D.

Marxism and French Labor. By LEON A. DALE. New York: Vantage Press, 1956. 273 pp. \$4.50.

This, alas, is a superfluous book. The author, a sincere and impassioned friend of the democratic labor movement, hopes to make a contribution to the cause he cherishes, by retelling the unhappy story of French labor. His account, starting at "the dawn of modern labor" and reaching to the present does not add a single detail to what has been discussed by previous authors writing both in French and in English. There is no new interpretation, except that the author time and again is groping for an explanation of the strength of communism in France.

The author's thesis, if thesis there is, amounts to the conclusion that "whenever the Marxists, first, and the communists, later, controlled the French labor movement it became ineffective, or simply deteriorated" (p. 204). In fact the author has not proven what probably cannot be proven, namely that the "Marxists" ever dominated French labor. Whoever may turn to the book in the hope of finding a discussion of the actual role Marxism has played in the making and the development of the labor movement, will be sorely disappointed. "Marxist" labor is simply contrasted with "free" labor, Stalinism equalized with Marxism, and then the author concludes that the free trade unions really never had a chance in France. Q.E.D.

A lengthy chapter entitled "The Moscow-CGT Axis" is simply a highly editorializing (and frequently trite) running comment on the current political French scene. Here the author's partisanship, however praiseworthy his objectives, frequently gets in the way of his intention to render an accurate historical account: the case of Robert Lacoste, former trade union official and now Resident Minister in Algeria, is far more complicated than the author cares to admit; Mendès-France and the Catholic trade-unions are slighted; the increase in parliamentary seats for the communists in the 1956 elections is never properly explained; etc., etc.

The book has a number of charts, which in their attempt to clarify the complications of French social and political alignments grossly oversimplify the situation. Its greatest value consists in an extremely complete bibliography, which runs to almost 50 pages. But the excellent works cited seem not to have proven of great value to the author.—HENRY W. EHRLMANN.

Leadership and Role Expectations. Ohio Studies in Personnel, Research Monograph Number 86, Bureau of Business Research. By RALPH M. STODGILL, ELLIS L. SCOTT, and WILLIAM E. JAYNES. Columbus: The Ohio State University, 1956. xv, 168 pp. \$2.00, paper.

This volume reports an investigation of the relationship between the reported role behavior and the expected role behavior of 47 senior and 83 junior supervisory staff members at a naval air research and development center. Seniors reported what they did and what they thought they should do; juniors reported what they saw their seniors doing and what they expected them to do, and they also reported what they themselves were doing and what they thought they ought to do.

The procedure yielded three sets of 45 items of reported role behaviors and three similar sets of role expectations. Additional information was obtained, including sociometric items, leadership ratings by superiors, and organizational data derived from a study of charts and manuals. Altogether, three groups of data were compiled: descriptions of reported role behavior and role expectations, discrepancy scores reflecting differences in perceived and expected role performance, and "reference scores" supposed to provide some indication of the quality of leadership performance of the seniors.

Several hundred correlation coefficients were computed to reveal every possible interrelation among the scores included in the three groups of data, and the analysis apparently was performed by means of an inspection of the resulting 40 or so tables of coefficients. The final report consists mainly of a rather pedestrian description of the results of this inspection.

Although the volume begins with nine pages of standard role theory, little or no reference is made to this theory in the rest of the report. The theoretical material thus appears to serve mainly as a justification for the curiosity of the researchers about role behavior and role expectations. About all that can be concluded from the study is that there are certain unsystematic differences between what a staff member is seen by himself and others to be doing and what he is expected (by himself and others) to be doing.

The best that can be said for this study is that it makes a modest contribution to methods of studying administrative role behavior in terms of perceived performances and related expectations. It could have contributed much more if the researchers had obtained some direct measures of worker satisfaction, morale, and group effectiveness and included these measures among their correlations to test relationships suggested by the theory. Despite its methodological refinement, as a study of formal organization this report suffers greatly in comparison with some of the more recent studies produced by sociologists, such as Peter M. Blau's *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy*. —J. E. HULETT, JR.

Human Relations: Comments and Cases. Second Edition. By F. K. BERRIEN and WENDELL H. BASH. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957. xii, 564 pp. \$5.00.

This book is a welcome addition to the expanding effort to synthesize social science knowledge for the understanding of individual and group relations. Typical of this unified approach it treats the increasing complexities of human interaction as products of physiological, psychological, social and economic forces. That any appraisal of a situation involving individual or group behavior can no longer be explained simply in terms of the particularistic concepts of this or that discipline is now accepted by most social scientists. In this case, a psychologist and a sociologist combine efforts to provide a holistic frame of reference to the understanding of personal and group interaction.

The book is primarily designed for the student. Thus Part I, Comments, covers what is generally familiar ground to the scientist. The various factors which bear upon human relations are briefly sketched and there is little that is original. Albeit, a framework for analysis is provided which, when supplemented by other study, classroom discussion and appraisal of the cases provided in Part II, should provide the elementary tools for application.

The thirty-three cases cover the home, school, industry, and the military. The clinician and the scientist would be reluctant to appraise the problems they reveal on the basis of the inadequate information provided. However, as the authors indicate, and as we all know in the course of our daily activities, judgments and action must constantly be taken on the basis of just such fragmentary observations. If the problem of what conclusions can be quickly drawn from incomplete evidence is critical for the scientist, what can be said for the layman? Hence the importance of human relations train-

ing to provide a better understanding of ourselves and our fellows in common humanity.

There is a helpful appendix for the instructor covering the authors' experience with the case studies in the classroom. It should be of value to those who have not yet used this method, particularly those concerned with training for human relations in industrial situations where there is still too much emphasis upon lecturing. All in all, the authors must be commended for the extent to which they have met their objectives.—G. H. ARMBRUSTER.

The Prison at Philadelphia—Cherry Hill. The Separate System of Penal Discipline: 1829–1913. By NEGLEY K. TEETERS and JOHN D. SHEARER. New York: Columbia University Press for Temple University Publications, 1957. xvii, 249 pp. \$5.50.

This story of the "Prison of Philadelphia," locally known as Cherry Hill, is based on the voluminous records that, until 1954, were stored in the towers of the prison. "Its founders created this prison on the principle of separate, or solitary, confinement, by which each prisoner could be separated from all others. This was accomplished by providing an individual cell for each inmate in which he worked, slept, and ate alone. His only contacts were his keepers, the chaplain, and a few interested citizens" (p. 3). This prison was in contrast with the "congregate" or "silent" system, as in the Auburn and Sing Sing prisons of New York State. The Philadelphia system failed to gain much support in America, but was quite generally adopted in Europe. The two main objectives of the system were: (1) to punish and at the same time reform the hardened criminals; and (2) to prevent casual offenders from becoming contaminated by contact with hardened criminals.

Detailed descriptions are given of the planning and the building of the prison, the early days of its operation, the problems of discipline, housing, feeding, and prison practices. The first prisoner was an eighteen-year-old young Negro. He had been convicted of a relatively minor offense, larceny, but became known as prisoner No. 1. The last two chapters are devoted to the rise and fall of the Pennsylvania system and the influence of this system on the history of penology.

Historical studies of penal institutions are essential for effective prison administration and they provide background data for sound principles of penology. The authors may be criticized for including some of the detailed data of events that occurred many years ago, but considering the mass of information at their disposal they did a good job of selecting pertinent

items and in presenting the essential facts in a clear manner.—MARTIN H. NEUMEYER.

The United Nations and Dependent Peoples.

By EMIL J. SADY. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution 1956, viii, 205 pp. \$1.50.

This study is part of a series on The United Nations conducted by the Brookings Institution. It describes the Colonial setting of the United Nations Charter, and post-war developments in Colonial areas. The relationship of the Assembly to the non-governing territories is also reviewed at some length, and the function of the International Trusteeship system is discussed. The work of the Trusteeship Council in the latter respect, includes approving trusteeship agreements, examining annual reports and written and oral petitions, and the dispatch of visiting missions to the respective territories. One of the most interesting, though controversial, questions dealt with by the Council arose out of a petition for a united Eweland. The Ewe people were divided after World War I between the Gold Coast, and the Trust Territories of British Togoland and French Togoland. Following a plebiscite held at the invitation of the Assembly, and the 1956 general elections in the Gold Coast, the Trusteeship recommended that the whole of British Togoland be united with the Gold Coast on the latter's attainment of its independence.

The book also considers some of the changes needed to make the United Nations a more effective instrument for promoting the advancement of dependent peoples. One difficulty arises out of the relationship of the Assembly itself to the Trusteeship Council. The Assembly is too unwieldy a body, and its members too politically motivated on trusteeship issues, properly to deal with such matters. It is suggested that the Assembly might be persuaded to increase the authority of the Council, if the latter body made greater use of non-governmental experts in the formulation of its decisions. The role of the Assembly itself would consist mainly of reviewing the work of the Council. Other problems to be solved include the conditions of termination of trusteeship, and the future composition of the Council.—KENNETH LITTLE.

Bäuerliche Familienbetriebe in Nordrhein-Westfalen. By HERMANN PRIEBE. Bonn: Forschungsgesellschaft für Agrarpolitik und Agrarsoziologie E. V., 1956. 246 pp. No price indicated.

As a report to the Minister of Agriculture of Nordrhein-Westfalen, this study in agricultural economics covers a carefully drawn sample

of farms in one of the states (Länder) of the Federal Republic of Germany. Thus it offers a good opportunity to gain a general insight in the operation of various types of farms including family farms in different regions of Western Germany. While the human element in farm economics is taken into consideration, the kind of social relations in which the sociologist is primarily interested is not treated. Nevertheless, the statistics, charts and interpretations would provide valuable background materials for any one concerned with rural life in Germany. In particular the investigation of the relation between schooling of the farm operator and farm productivity invites comparison with conditions elsewhere. While at least the copy which came to our attention was carelessly bound, the general appearance of the book is very pleasing.—E. K. FRANCIS.

Moralność Mieszczańska. Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Wydział I, Nr. 22. By MARIA OSSOWSKA. Łódź: Zakład im. Ossolińskich We Wrocławiu, 1956. 331 pp. Cena zł 37.

The present book dealing with the sociology of morality, is the third in a series on the broad problem of value systems in a society. The first volume, published before World War II, centered upon the analysis of moral norms; the second, *The Motives of Behavior*, was devoted to the psychology of morality.

The first part of the book consists of (a) a definition of the term "Bourgeois morality," (b) a review of criticisms of a set of precepts called "bourgeois morality" levied by various writers and based on the classics of Marxism and on works of Polish writers of gentry origin and of the Boheme; (c) a detailed discussion of the works of Benjamin Franklin whom the author sees as the "typical apostle of bourgeois morality."

The crucial problem of definition is not solved. The term used in the title and throughout the book (*mieszczaństwo*) refers only to a small group often not the "bourgeoisie." The former term applies to small entrepreneurs and merchants living in the cities. In its classical meaning *mieszczaństwo* excluded the white-collar, blue-collar and no-collar workers who, although city residents, were called *mieszczańscy*. The term "bourgeois" in the Polish sense was limited to the high and upper-middle income groups of the urban population, to the landed gentry who in spite of their "noble" origin were not part of the nobility ("aristocratic bourgeoisie"), and to most of the professional people. Frequent references to—and synonymous use of—the term "middle-class" adds to the confusion as this term seldom includes the

landed gentry who are "bourgeois." The author analyzes the urban middle and middle-lower classes but a definition of terms and a clear identification of the subject matter under analysis are missing.

The author fails to note that a large percentage of small shop-owners, entrepreneurs, and merchants in Polish cities was made up of members of ethnic groups other than Polish and had value orientations considerably different from the ones attributed to them by the author. Any expectations that the book may contain a comparative analysis of the pre-war "bourgeois morality" (whatever this term may mean) and of value orientations of the middle-class in "people's Poland" are not fulfilled. (This might have been a subject for a most interesting study in view of the basic changes in post-war Poland including the virtual elimination of ethnic and religious minorities which played a leading role in urban life before the war.)

The second part of the book attempts to construct a typology of various expressions of thrift and the analyses and critiques of the "gentleman-trader" of Daniel Defoe; of Weber's notions about the relationships between religious and moral phenomena and the development of capitalism; monographs on Leon Battista Alberti and his works on middle-class morality in the period of early Italian capitalism, and on C. F. Volney who belonged to a group of so-called ideologists in the days of French revolution.

The last part of this volume is devoted to a discussion of conflict areas between value-orientations of the middle-class and of the nobility and to the consideration of methods and techniques used in studies dealing with societal values.

Lack of precise definitions of terms and the highly selective material used by the author constitute the main weaknesses of this volume.
—WITOLD KRASSOWSKI.

Contemporary Poland: Society, Politics, Economy. Preliminary Edition. Subcontractor's Monograph HRAF-22, Chicago-16. Edited by ALICJA IWAŃSKA. Chicago: The University of Chicago for the Human Relations Area Files, Inc., 1955. vi, 578 pp. No price indicated.

This volume contains the results of research performed in the Division of the Social Sciences of the University of Chicago under contract with the Human Relations Area Files. It presents a balanced and very informative account of the contemporary socio-economic and political conditions in Poland and traces the rise and development of present-day institutions to

their main historical precursors. The main emphasis is directed toward post World War II Poland and the period between the two World Wars.

The content of this volume relies heavily on secondary sources as an imposed deadline and certain security classifications restricted extensive analyses of contemporary Polish scientific and popular literary materials, and prohibited the use of interviews (already recorded) with escapees and defectors, available in various places in the United States.

The encyclopedic character of this monograph makes it an invaluable reference source to all students interested in Poland specifically and in East European problems in general.

The first part of this book contains data on Polish geography, history, population, and language. The chapter on population should be of particular interest to demographers and ethnologists alike.

The analysis of the Polish national character, value orientations of Poles, and of the class structure in Poland constitute the second part of the monograph. The discussion, necessarily brief, shows considerable insight and critical accuracy.

Part III is devoted to social institutions including religion, education, arts and sciences, and the family. Comparisons between the historical roles of social institutions and their functions in Poland between the two World Wars and in the post World War II period are insightful, well documented, and thoroughly informative. Part IV deals with political institutions with particular emphasis placed upon the degree of political dependency on the USSR and the influences exerted by the Communists on all aspects (social, economic, cultural, etc.) of life in Poland.

The last part centers upon economic institutions and includes discussions of the general economic policy and of the general character of the national economy.

Frequent illustrative quotations, limited maps, and numerous tables with data on almost all aspects of life in Poland contribute considerably to this uniquely informative study. It is regrettable, but no fault of the authors, that available data from primary sources were not made a part of this monograph. It is hoped that this useful research can be continued and will include other countries of the critical East European area.—WITOLD KRASSOWSKI.

Les orientations nouvelles des science criminelles et penitentiaires. Travaux de la Semaine Internationale de Strasbourg. Annales De La Faculté De Droit et Des Sciences Politiques

De Strasbourg, II. Paris: Librairie Dalloz, 1955. 236 pp. No price indicated.

This is a collection of papers or addresses on criminology and penology given at a week long meeting sponsored by the Faculty of Law and Political Science at Strasbourg, France. The papers are predominantly critical discussions of legal procedures, legal and social implications of probation and reprove, with two papers addressed to the general theoretical approach to the problem of crime and to its psychological aspects.

In the first paper attention is drawn to the dual biological, psychiatric-psychological, nature of the problem of crime, as well as to the dependence of criminology upon many sciences. It is suggested that there is need to study the personality and motivation of the criminal as part of a research program. However, a conservative note is struck here with the insistence that psychological examinations of criminals should be conducted in collaboration with medical doctors.

The lone psychologist to speak at the meetings held that the socio-psychological approach is the best means of integrating the biological and social aspects of crime. This is taken to mean research into such areas as group interaction, character, aptitudes, sociometry, industrial and vocational adjustment. An interesting sidelight on these comments concerning the great need for research is the observation that as yet it is difficult for psychologists to gain access to prisons in France and presumably on the continent.

The subject receiving the greatest attention in other papers was the philosophically conceived problem of conflict between social defense and social prevention as it bears upon probation in particular. Apparently the conflict in French culture between individualism and authority has made the civil rights issues involved in probation a matter for continuing controversy. This is in decided contrast to our society where only a few voices such as Tappan's have been raised to query the wisdom of the wide discretionary powers we give to courts, sentencing boards, probation and parole officials.

From this collection of papers it is painfully clear that empirical research in criminology in France is something yet to come. Indeed, one gets the impression from these addresses that little more than lip service is paid to the idea.

As a sample of current French thinking on the subjects of criminology and penology this publication merits some attention. Also it has some value as a critical light on our own easy acceptance of positivistic programs of probation

and parole. Otherwise the American sociologist will derive little substantive material from this publication which might further sociological research into crime.—EDWIN M. LEMERT.

Aspects of Culture. By HARRY L. SHAPIRO. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1956. 147 pp. \$2.75.

Originally presented at the 1956 Brown and Haley Lectures at the College of Puget Sound (Tacoma, Washington), the three chapters of this very readable little book press insistently for a more objective awareness of the cultural process when we attend to the social and intellectual problems of our time. The author regards the human animal as having to adapt not only to his physical surroundings but also to the cultural environment that he is creating. And as cultures become increasingly complex, the lengthening period of youth's education poses some weighty questions about social and psychological adjustment. Noting the extreme rapidity of cultural change in recent years, anthropologist Shapiro comments on the widening gap between technological power and man's wisdom to control it, and views the two phenomena in combination as the greatest challenge to mankind.

The suggestion is made to readers that history would be more meaningful if analyzed in terms of the cultural dynamics that underlie the specifics of personalities and political events. Shapiro sees the conflict between Elizabethan England and an aroused Irish people as comparable on many counts to the nativistic cultist rejection of colonial powers in primitive cultures subjected to foreign domination. He employs concepts of cultural pattern and continuity of change in interpreting the growth of Old World civilizations. These cultures of cities which evolved in China, India, Egypt, and the Near East, in each region distinct, were later diffused to adjacent areas where, in the course of time and adaptation to changing needs, arose new manifestations. In a concluding section the author appraises young America's deviation from an English manifestation of Western civilization as a patterned development that sprang from a combination of circumstances peculiar to the New World scene, yet bound to the Old World by its inheritance of Western tradition.—LEONARD MASON.

Work and Life on Raroia. An acculturation study from the Tuamotu Group, French Oceania. By BENGT DANIELSSON. New York: The Macmillan Company, n.d. 244 pp. \$5.75.

The data on which this study is based were collected during an eighteen month stay on

Raroia atoll, from November 1949 to April 1951, and a further four month visit in 1952. Although the book is organized around a discussion of present social and economic conditions, information on other aspects of Raroian life is not ignored. Throughout the book the author has quantified his information and presented it in tabular form wherever possible.

The first section of the book discusses the climate and geography, the aboriginal culture, and the history of culture contacts. The chapter on aboriginal culture is very brief while the information on contacts is given in some detail and serves, later in the book, as the basis for a discussion in which the author attempts to identify the major causes of change and to trace their influence on the pre-European culture.

Useful, though rather limited, demographic information is presented for the 109 inhabitants and compared with statistics for French Oceania and Tuamotu.

The major portion of the book deals with present conditions under such headings as land ownership, subsistence and surplus production, and organization of work. Dr. Danielsson shows the changes which have occurred and indicates the extent to which pre-European and modified elements function at the present time. A brief chapter is devoted to changes in social structure.

Numerous tables, figures, maps and several plates are included. Although there is a fairly detailed table of contents, there is, unfortunately, no index. The book is a useful addition to the small number of acculturation studies available for the Pacific area, particularly as the author has attempted to follow the recommendations of the various research organizations and institutions interested in the Pacific, and has presented his data in a form which should make for easy comparison with existing studies.
—J. FORSTER.

Afable Savages: An Anthropologist Among the Urubu Indians of Brazil. By FRANCIS HUXLEY. New York: The Viking Press, 1957. 287 pp. \$4.75.

Affability is the chief feature of this book. As an account of the Urubu Indians it is a pleasant and engaging tale, falling closer to the picturesque style than that of the ethnographic report.

Huxley's virtue is a clear and readable prose, making much use of anecdote and incident. What emerges from the book is a sympathetic framing of some aspects of myth and legend among this remnant Indian people. Mythology and cannibalism were apparently the major field work themes of the author. Since the

Urubu have been pacified, warfare and cannibalism are no longer part of the culture, so that at least half the book is retrospective and reconstructive.

The use of living informants to elucidate activity they no longer engage in has its obvious pitfalls, but the interpretation of cannibalism carries conviction in this case. I am not sure it adds to our understanding of that practice in this part of the world, given the full, first hand accounts of the early explorers and colonists.

Huxley's interpretation of the culture hero myth is intriguing and marks him as sensitive and imaginative. But he picks up parallels and similarities to local mythology as he needs them, making his view plausible, if not provable.

He has not yet, apparently, learned the first maxim of professional anthropology—the rigorous examination of cherished insight in the light of comparable data focussed by an explicit theoretical apparatus. But then, he did not write this book for the carping scholar, and he will not lead astray the lay reader.—MANNING NASH.

Human Types: An Introduction to Social Anthropology. Revised Edition. By RAYMOND FIRTH. London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1956. 224 pp. U. S. distributor, Barnes and Noble. \$2.25.

This is, in my opinion, one of the best introductions to social anthropology available. It is written in clear, fluent and concise English by one of the leading figures in anthropology. It has both the depth and scope of a text twice its size, and unlike so many of today's pretentious and gaudy productions, it sells for only a fraction of their cost.

The book, in its present form, is a revision of the edition first printed in 1938. New material has been added throughout, but especially in chapters I, IV, and VII. The List of Works for Further Reading has been expanded and brought up to date.

The first chapter, Racial Traits and Mental Differences, separates race from culture and summarizes what is known of racial differences, the relevance of such study to an understanding of population movements and mixtures, and the social problems of racial differences. In the second chapter, Man and Nature, the relationship between environment and culture is discussed. Work and Wealth of Primitive Communities, the third chapter, considers problems of production, consumption, distribution and their social and cultural settings. In the fourth chapter, Some Principles of Social Structure, kinship and family forms are the focus of the discussion. The

Regulation of Conduct, the fifth chapter, considers problems of maintaining social order, law, values, sanctions, and touches on political organization. In the sixth chapter, problems of magic, religion, sacred and secular, prayer, sorcery and so on are discussed under the heading of Reason and Unreason in Human Belief. The concluding chapter, Anthropology in Modern Life, deals with social and cultural change and applied anthropology in their contemporary setting. An excellent List of Works for Further Reading and Maps Showing the Location of Peoples Mentioned closes the volume.—DAVID M. SCHNEIDER.

The Parting of the Way: Lao Tzu and the Taoist Movement. By HOLMES WELCH. Boston: Beacon Press, 1957. 204 pp. \$5.00.

This is a rewarding book. One of the uses of Oriental wisdom literature is to allow us to explore imaginatively ways of life, and hence patterns of value, that have so far played little part in our culture. This is the orientation which Holmes Welch deliberately gives to his study of Lao Tzu, and he succeeds admirably in his task. Lao Tzu's devaluation of aggression, ambition, property, power, importance, law, duty, and public opinion is forcibly contrasted to the positive acclamation of these values by most Americans. And while Mr. Welch is by no means all on the side of Lao Tzu, he believes that Lao Tzu's teaching of "inactive action" is "something we can have a little of, and a little is not a dangerous thing." Those among us who want to temper the stress on dominance by an admixture of receptivity and detachment will find this book, and the *Tao Te Ching*, valuable companions.

The argument is developed in four parts: The Problem of Lao Tzu; The *Tao Te Ching*, The Taoist Movement; Tao Today. The first part makes clear why the *Tao Te Ching* permits such a variety of diverse interpretations; the second part attempts to isolate the ethical, mystical, and philosophical levels of Tao Tzu's thought; the treatment of the Taoist movement brings together valuable material on Taoist hygiene and alchemy, and on the Taoist church and its political affiliations; the final part is a frankly imaginative attempt to picture how American foreign and domestic policy, business, sports, and education would fare under Lao Tzu's whip. In Appendix 1 an argument is made for the view that the *Tao Te Ching* is the work of a single author; Appendix 2 gives a chronological chart of Taoism through the Sung Dynasty. There is a useful bibliography.

Though the Taoist church persecuted the Buddhists, philosophical Taoism had much in-

fluence in China upon Ch'an Buddhism, which in turn influenced later Confucianism and was the source of Japanese Zen Buddhism. Because of its intrinsic interest and its historical importance, attention to Taoism is likely to increase. Mr. Welch's book makes this more certain.—CHARLES MORRIS.

National Communism and Soviet Strategy. By D. A. TOMASIC with the assistance of JOSEPH STRMECKI. Introduction by ELMER LOUIS KAYSER. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1957. ix, 222 pp. \$4.50.

The first half of this book consists of a pedestrian history of the Yugoslav Communist Party and of Tito's rise to power. The chief explanatory principles resorted to are Lenin's "theory" of the three stages of a revolution, by which Tito is held to have guided the direction and timing of his moves; and the psychological characteristics of Yugoslavia's ethnic groups, these being based on an earlier work by the same author and here stated in sweeping fashion. There follows a description, not closely connected with what has preceded it, of domestic developments in Yugoslavia after her expulsion from the Cominform. The official explanation is accepted that "demoralization" in the Yugoslav party was an outcome of that event, without any recognition that other Communist parties, including the Soviet, faced the same problems before and after Tito's dramatic defiance. The final chapter is an overview of "Titoist" manifestations in the other satellites, based largely on dispatches in the *New York Times* (although Yugoslav sources account for most of the documentation in the rest of the book).

Professor Tomasic does not seem to have been able to make up his mind about the significance of all this. Early in the book, he implies that the attempts to solve the problem of nationalism within the Communist states may "yet prove fatal to Leninism as a monolithic system and a universal creed." But toward the end, he takes the position that national Communism has become a new weapon of Soviet strategy, which "might favor the 'unity of will and action' which is indispensable for the survival and for the expansion of World Communism." At neither point, nor anywhere in between, does he probe the really fascinating sociological questions raised by Titoism: What can the role and destiny of the state be in a Communist regime? What are the differences between political bureaucracies in capitalist and socialist societies, and between "constructive criticism" and "betrayal of Marxism-Leninism"? Indeed, the book leaves the reader wondering what sociology is—for, although the author teaches that subject at

Indiana University, there is nothing here that can be recognized as distinctively sociological.—ROBERT A. FELDMESSER.

Problemas Economicos y Sociales de Los Andes. Parte II: *Venezolanos*. Caracas: Consejo de Bienestar Rural, n.d. 136 pp. No price indicated.

This is the second section of a report on the economic problems of a part of the Venezuelan Andes. It is a description of the social and cultural dimensions of economic backwardness among rural agriculturalists in this region. Parts I and II together document a now classical kind of Latin American rural poverty. (See the book note of Part I in the *Review*, Vol. 21, No. 5, p. 666.) Small, uneconomic plots of land are farmed by family units with low capital and poor technology. Marketing and storage facilities are restricted, and indebtedness for consumption needs is chronic. Consequently levels of living are depressed: food is poor and inadequate, housing sub-standard, sanitary and medical services rudimentary. The population has the accent on youth and on males—the demographic consequence of high infant and child birth mortality coupled with short life expectancy. Literacy is restricted, and schools are burdened with poor curricula and too few resources in the way of books and trained personnel.

This familiar picture of the mountain peasantry of regions of Latin America has become the concern of governments, international agencies, and private foundations. Studies like this one are intended to provide the factual basis for an action program. Some few recommendations on programs of instruction in the agricultural arts and in health practices close the report.

Mechanization is one hope and migration another for the raising of living levels. But the problem of subsistence farmers in marginal areas in Latin America is a national one. Attempts to lift these populations out of poverty requires a rapidly expanding national economy, as well as humanitarian concern.—MANNING NASH.

Living Conditions of Plantation Workers and Peasants on Java in 1939-1940. By the COOLIE BUDGET COMMISSION. Translated by ROBERT VAN NIEL. Ithaca: Department of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University, 1956. v, 131 pp. \$1.50, processed.

Just before the Japanese invasion in December, 1941, the Netherlands East Indies Government completed a socio-economic survey of

living conditions among workers on Javanese plantations and of some peasants living in the vicinity of the plantations. These conditions were shockingly bad, and efforts on the part of Government to raise wages were not very successful.

Since the survey was printed in the Dutch language and limited in circulation to a few officials the important materials contained in it have been closed to American scholars interested in the Netherlands Indies. This translation of the principal volume of the survey by Professor Robert Van Niel of Russell Sage College is therefore to be welcomed for the light it throws on the important part played by the plantations and the plantation workers in the Indonesian revolution.—EDGAR T. THOMPSON.

The Iteso: Fifty Years of Change in a Nilo-Hamitic Tribe of Uganda. By J. C. D. LAWRENCE. With a foreword by SIR ANDREW COHEN. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. xx, 280 pp. \$5.80.

This amateur ethnographic-historical study of the Iteso, "the second largest tribe in Uganda," is of interest only because it deals with a people who have been almost completely neglected in anthropological literature. Mr. Lawrence, who was District Commissioner of Teso for five years, is untrained in anthropology or sociology, and pretends to no understanding of cultural or social theory. Although his disavowals display probity, they do not relieve the essential dullness and naivete of his approach. On the one hand, the monograph is written from the standpoint of the British administrator, confident beyond the need of protest in the benefits of British rule and the superiority of his civilization; on the other hand, the work is an orthodox catalogue of Iteso "activities," unintegrated, and unsystematic. Although sheer description of, say, fishing techniques, is of some value, it is no substitute for an inquiry into the dynamic processes of change, objectively analyzed, or for a recital of the Iteso response to change, viewed from within. Since neither of these latter matters is dealt with in any significant sense whatever, the subtitle of the book, "Fifty Years of Change, etc." is simply inaccurate. It should also be noted that the surface positivism of the approach that merely records certain selected facts of native life is a neat complement to the intentions of the Colonial Administrator, whether or not these are beneficent. Modern positivism, its abstract merits notwithstanding, has too often served as a convenient screen for motives and problems that are too complex or too awkward to confront directly.

Ostensibly, Mr. Lawrance's purpose was to trace the development of the Iteso from a pastoral-shifting horticultural people, through their subjugation by the Baganda, who set up a quite efficient system of "indirect rule" without the advice of Lord Lugard, to the introduction of cotton as a cash crop and the consolidation of British control. During the past fifty years, then, a power hierarchy developed as follows: the native proto-state, Ganda, conquered the more primitively organized Iteso; in turn, the Baganda were subjected to British indirect rule, and British sovereignty also substituted for Ganda among the Iteso. During the same period, cotton cash-cropping developed, leading to, along with the emergent political factors, complex and widespread changes in native life. Into these changes, whether viewed practically or theoretically, Mr. Lawrance gives us a negligible insight.—STANLEY DIAMOND.

The Suburbanization of Administrative Offices in the San Francisco Bay Area. By DONALD L. FOLEY. Berkeley: Bureau of Business and Economic Research, University of California, 1957. iv, 48 pp. \$1.50, paper.

Contrary to some predictions of the future of center areas in the American metropolis, Foley finds in his study of the San Francisco Bay Area that the "trends over the past 25 years do not appear to give immediate major cause for alarm to public officials or to building owners and managers in the metropolitan center," and that the "central portions of the Bay Area have retained a striking concentration of administrative offices," about 65 per cent of all Bay Area top offices still being contained within this central area. Almost all suburban top offices relocated or initially established during the period studied (from 1928 to 1954) have been attached to non-office facilities, such as manufacturing plants, warehouses, or transportation terminals, while the "relocation of important top detached offices to the Bay Area's suburbs has been negligible."

These and other findings regarding suburbanization trends, given in Chapter II of the monograph, are based largely upon a "telephone survey of approximately 1,100 San Francisco Bay Area firms or nongovernmental organizations employing over 100 persons in 1953."

Also based largely upon these data is Chapter III, which includes an analysis of the present locational pattern of Bay Area administrative offices, and a discussion of the factors associated with the centrality of office location.

Chapter IV, however, uses materials gathered in a series of personal interviews with about 60 executives, consultants, and real estate specialists in the Bay Area. The persons interviewed apparently were not randomly selected, no tests of significance were computed, and the data were not systematically quantified for the most part. Thus, the analysis of the factors bearing on locational decisions, appearing in this chapter, is difficult to evaluate. Foley, of course, is aware of the limitations of these findings, but it is unfortunate that a sample survey design with a sample large enough to permit systematic quantitative analysis was not used, so that this chapter would have measured up to the general excellence of the rest of the monograph.

Although similar studies should be made in other metropolitan areas testing the generality of Foley's findings, this monograph is an interesting and useful study of one of the organizational aspects of the current suburbanization trend.—WENDELL BELL.

Prosperity Beyond Tomorrow. By SAMUEL H. ORDWAY, JR. With a Foreword by PAUL B. SEARS. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1955. xii, 208 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Ordway's book pertains to the potential prosperity, leisure, pleasure and plenty which many of us may reasonably expect in the future, provided we are sensible enough to conserve and develop our great biological, physical and human resources. The thesis of the book is developed on the assumption that humanity is not going to destroy itself in an atomic war, and that of all resources in the world, the human resources consisting of body and spirit remain most important to Western man. The five-fold parts of the book are: I. The Impending Golden Age, II. The Field of Leisure, III. The Way of Conservation, IV. Basic Issues, and V. An Ethic for the Age of Leisure. Some of the thirteen chapters are "Time in the Making," "Awareness of Environment" and "Population Pressures." The book is attractive, challenging, and well written.—LELAND B. TATE.

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(Listing of a publication below does not preclude its subsequent review)



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